The Essential Structure of National Socialism: The Foundations of the German Revival

by Alfred Rosenberg

1933
Verlag Frz. Eher Nachf., G.m.b.H., München 2, N0.

All rights reserved, including the right to translate

Copyright 1932

Dedicated to the martyrs of the National Socialist movement, who died for the coming Reich

Table of Contents

The Prerequisite - Page 5
Racial Philosophy and State Structure - Page 9
Foreign Policy and Economic Ethics - Page 14
Worldview, Religion, Politics - Page 26
The Rebirth of Civilization - Page 36
Symbols of Life - Page 44
Appendix (Party Program and Agricultural Policy) - Page 49

The Prerequisite

To millions, the massive growth of the National Socialist movement seems baffling and terrifying; therefore, advocates of pre-1914 ideas and defenders of today's prevailing ideological and political systems are striving to "explain" this rise of a phenomenon once derided, but now rightly feared to their remaining followers—and to do so in a way that minimizes the hypnotic influence of the new idea on their adherents - for this reason, "temporary events" such as economic hardship and trade disruptions are invoked to announce, amidst promises of better times that are sure to return, the disappearance of the National Socialist "pathological phenomenon."

All these critics of National Socialism overlook the fact that these great crises of our time are themselves signs of illness, symptoms of the most terrible kind, external parables of an inner collapse, but also testimonies to the rule of a spirit that regards economic profit as its highest good; since such a mental and spiritual attitude runs counter to the organic structure of any communal life, the sins of a generation that has lost all its values takes its toll in political and economic catastrophes.

As final consequences, two possibilities then loom on the horizon of the future: that those deceived by the unscrupulous economic spirit will increasingly break free from the notions of loyalty, devotion, civic spirit, honor, and in a violent rebellion shatter the world to pieces, or, in another group, the moral force coalesces into an iron will to restore, with a rod of discipline, the law of nature and the law of every great soul—that in the hierarchy of values, profit stands at the bottom, and not at the top.

Usually, in decisive epochs, both forces converge, and the struggle is then not circumvented by compromise, but fought through to a conclusion; the outcome of this struggle often determines the further historical course of a people, a group of peoples, or a race for centuries, sometimes forever.

We stand today at such a turning point in history - the spirits that were once summoned by teachings which had placed the absolute ego at the center of all value systems have been unleashed, and no single overarching concept unites them; at the center of the legislation of the whole, for the most part, only individuals act who are agents of the crudest speculative interests.

There are hardly any statesmen left, but only syndicates of corporations, trusts, and monopolies—all too often creatures of the basest speculation, bought outright; law and judges are degraded to tools of the narrowest party spirit, and the last pillars of national trust are thus undermined by the rulers of an age of decay themselves; this is done by force, for otherwise people who often deliver weighty speeches at world economic conferences would have to sit on prison benches.

This decomposition from above, however, also increasingly loosens the hitherto loyal allegiance of the ruled masses, and then comes the aforementioned day of decision: whether it be chaos, or a resolve ready for battle - in the second case, the great masses will begin their initial engagement with the critique of the immediately perceptible damages; some minds will delve deeper into the conditions under which the decay took place, while one, or perhaps only a few, will give birth to a new idea at this ripe moment, capable of leading a people back to greatness.

Thoughts come like children of God: no one can trace their origin purely empirically to its very root - and yet, the nature of views regarding the birth of an idea reveals the characteristic mindset of various personalities, peoples, and races.

From a purely historical and external perspective, the widely held view is that, following an "era of liberalism," a "new idea" must now emerge as a "fateful" consequence - yet this is not true even from a

purely historical standpoint, for all too often such a saving idea was not conceived, but rather peoples of the greatest cultural power perished forever in the fires of battle on this earth.
We National Socialists do not believe that an idea has “fatefully” descended upon us from misty heights; we do not feel fatalistically “chosen,” as is the presumptuous “humility” of many - rather, what sustains us is precisely the living awareness of that which takes shape from the bottom up, the innermost knowledge that ideas and values have risen within our breasts, that they have driven us to a powerful commitment, to deeds, to sacrifices, to victories; that beautiful German saying, which holds that “fate” is not the only powerful force, but rather the courage that bears it unbroken, reveals the same spiritual attitude, which is ultimately a question of character, and the exploration of which then leads to the mystery of the blood that is bound to the soul.
Those who believe they must bestow upon us the burden of a magical idea declare themselves fanatical opponents of the purely materialistic concept of causality—and yet reintroduce it through dogma; in doing so, they undermine the dignity of the birth of an idea in human hearts, which always remains a mystery.

***

Every great idea now—according to Goethe—makes its appearance as a lawgiver - but every truly great synthesis is always the spiritual-psychic birth of a personality.
At best, the experiences of an epoch converge through a few individuals—not through synthesis, but because they stem from the same longing, the same character, the same myth of life.
In this world, an idea needs a body to be expressed - from this urge arose the Parthenon, just as the Sistine Chapel and the Ninth Symphony did; man, idea, and work have become a spatiotemporal unity that can never be separated.
This fundamental insight also applies where man is both subject and object, where human life is in flux, where a changing number must therefore be the representation of a thought - here, then, man himself takes the place of the work.
The National Socialist movement has experienced its own law, according to which it has set out, from the very first days of its existence: blood and soil as the prerequisite for all action, personality as the crowning glory of a people, leadership in opposition to democratic egalitarianism, a final battle against Marxism as a whole—that is, against social democracy as well as Bolshevism—and the replacement of the incompetent bourgeoisie by a new elite of the nation. .
Before an idea can become a formative, generative type, it is inseparably linked to its living creator; this is something that anyone who has and forms thoughts of their own readily understands, but it is also something that every Germanic character, however simple, feels just as deeply and intuitively.

When, from the outside, the enemies of an organic upsurge—while fighting the new phenomenon of life at its roots on another front—now attempt to seemingly acknowledge the “greatness of the idea” but dismiss its names as “smoke and mirrors,” it is quite clear that we are not dealing here with “ideal” motives or “loyalty to an idea,” but rather with an expression of concerns as they are bred on the asphalt of cosmopolitan cities, with people who understand neither ideas nor great personalities, and therefore are incapable of judging them.
As a new, great will rises, many newcomers will soon become active without having undergone a complete transformation through the idea; many then join the organization in the naive belief that they

will find in the party a convenient forum for their plans and little schemes, since perhaps no one else would have listened to them before.
These people then usually like to speak of "the idea," though they imagine only the figments of their imagination and regard the new entity merely as a test subject to see to what extent it can be adapted to the emanations of all manner of previously repressed thought forms; the personality of a genuine leader is therefore embarrassing to these people, because here the idea and the form already exist, leaving little opportunity for attempts to strike a pose - thus, with suspicious zeal, they emphasize "loyalty to the idea," yet draw from this only the conclusion that they themselves should take the place of the creators.
But before a doctrine—and this is an eternal law—can become a steel-hard way of life, it must first have been carried through the flames of time by a leader; anyone who is truly faithful to this idea will therefore emphasize the current inseparability of leader and idea, and will either subject people of the aforementioned sort to iron discipline, or—if, in addition to ambition worthy of a courier, there is also moral inferiority—will have to exclude them.
It is precisely the strongest personalities and the most conscious members of a new great spiritual movement who will refuse to turn the organization born of pain into a public debating club of fickle people who confuse chatter with problem-solving - the idea stands firm, firmly bound to the leader, and from its center spring the decisions—bound to people, not to bloodless abstractions—that give the world a new direction.

In the unique inner recognition of the idea lies the genuine expression of freedom; this is therefore also the inner attitude of the National Socialist.
Loyalty to it is loyalty to oneself; the power of this shared idea is then strengthened by supporting the Führer in the struggle against the decay of our time, in the struggle for a great future.
One must keep this deep-rooted bond between the idea, the Führer and his followers—which permeates all levels of human possibility—in mind so as not to misinterpret the overall nature of the National Socialist phenomenon from the outset; from here, the path then leads into the depths of the content of the idea itself.
Revolution in and of itself against decayed conditions means nothing; moreover, a revolution that preaches "absolutely new ideas" after a people has existed for thousands of years demonstrates that it must be inorganic and hostile to the people, for if a people has not upheld certain ideas in its history, has not paid homage to certain values, this proves that these ideas and values do not belong to its essence.
A revolution or an evolution is genuine only if it serves as a means to restore the neglected eternal values of a nation—in our case, the German nation; this then is precisely the greatness of the National Socialist movement, in that it is the unifying German national idea in the forms of our time; that is why we feel a kinship with all that was once a source of pride for the Germans, and that is why we are enemies of everything that sought to distort the very essence of this German spirit.
We wish to act in the forms of our time - that is to say, we reject those often untruthful pseudo-nationalist teachers who, out of an inability to affirm our own age—despite all its signs of decline—seek satisfaction in imitating even the forms of the past, whether in art or in the economy: we National Socialists wholeheartedly affirm our era, for we ourselves feel that we are an "element" of rebirth; we know that the Great War of 1914 to 1918 will one day live on in the memory of future generations as a mythical feat without equal; we know that these generations will then witness an almost hopeless chaos spreading across the fields of Germany until the columns of National Socialism become visible, the German nation comes to its senses under its leadership, and then experiences the greatest and deepest rebirth.

It is not what others are that determines our judgment, but what we ourselves represent through word, will, and deed—that is what is decisive for our assessment of our time.
Only those who comprehend this faith and the emphatic and well-founded exclusivity of this faith will also know how to properly integrate the individual; only those who witness the struggle of blood and values of the awakening Germanic racial soul—only they are capable of passing judgment on our economic aspirations as well.
Through the emphasis on character, a bridge is built between every era of the German people, no matter how distant, and the present.

Racial Philosophy and State Structure

No matter how large and far-reaching a spiritual movement may be, it always traces back to a very few core ideas, usually just a single one; this is not a sign of poverty, but of richness, a testament to genuine spiritual form and organic fertility in contrast to eclecticism—that is, to the methods of those who believe they can construct something particularly great by piecing together many ideas - it is precisely these intellectualistic attempts, which presumptuously dare to criticize everything else as a "lack of spirituality," that are the signs of a decline in the soul's creative power.
Nature forms the ear of grain and manifold fruit from a single seed, not by trampling together many seeds of different plants - in exactly the same way, genuine forms arise in all areas of life, only they require great discoveries, the effects of which then seep into every vein of the other life forces as well.
The violent welding together of diverse characteristics is—in the political sphere—democracy; it is therefore, under almost all historically traceable conditions, the political form of the racial decline of a creative, strong people when it grants to the different, mostly inferior groups the same rights that it had once fought for as a prerequisite for genuine world-shaping.

In the midst of such a spiritual and racial decline, the realization of the nature of this decay sometimes flashes through the minds of great thinkers, as when Plato, in the late Hellenic period, conceived a plan for a strict state based on racial principles, likely with the subconscious awareness that the Nordic blood of the Greeks had been nearly eradicated through racial mixing and wars - by then, however, it was too late for Hellas, just as it had once been too late for India and Iran, and just as it later became too late for Rome.
The realization that the "eternal night" of ethnic chaos would have spread across Europe had the Germanic peoples not appeared in the world is the greatest discovery of the late 19th century, which was firmly conveyed to the German people primarily by H. St. Chamberlain, who later professed to be a National Socialist; subsequent research into race and genetics has deepened his ideas, "expanding these insights ever further into a vast body of literature", but the fact that all this has not remained mere paper or literature, but has become a vibrant reality for millions of Germans today, is the historical achievement of Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist People's Movement.
Whatever the future may bring, whatever political, economic, or social forms, interim solutions, difficulties, or struggles this movement may face as it strives toward its goal, this historical achievement is already beyond question today; everything that struggled as an individual personality in German lands, that yearned for form amid the seething chaos, that searched in the depths of its own soul for the causes of the great collapse of 1918, it all flowed more and more into a movement that, once derided and mocked, then ostracized and persecuted, had been born in a few hearts with the boldness of hope precisely at the hour of Germany's deepest humiliation - but that hope would surely have collapsed had it not been fused with the deeply rooted conviction that, in a thousand towns and villages across the German lands, kindred spirits yearned for the same thing, and that the old blood still coursed through those who had fought in the Great War and lived on in the descendants of the fallen.
This belief in the value of blood, the fundamental premise of the National Socialist worldview, is by no means a "shallow materialism," as it was often called, particularly by so-called Manchester liberals, but lies much deeper - essentially, it states that a certain creative soul, a character of a certain nature, a certain mindset, is always paired with a specific racial form: it is no coincidence that the brilliant, heroic figure of Siegfried is a creation and spiritual model of the Germanic people, while the deceiver and heir-snatcher

Jacob is the ideal figure of the Jew; it is no coincidence that the idea of honor is the highest value among the singers of the Edda, among the poets of the Hildebrandlied, the Gudrunlied, and the Nibelungenlied, and that it recurs in another form—the unconditional truthfulness of the researcher—exactly the same way in Leonardo and Copernicus, until it finds its most powerful transfiguration in Faust, while conversely, it is also no coincidence that the Jewish code of conduct—the Talmud, the Shulchan Aruch—elevates deception to be perpetrated against non-Jews as the guiding principle of Jewish national morality; it is no coincidence that the bearer of the concept of honor is a slender, tall, light-eyed, powerful man, while the descendants of the father Jacob are crooked, flat-footed, black, curly-haired figures; it is no coincidence that Pallas Athena and Apollo, with their noble, warlike spirit, could only be depicted as the women on the Parthenon pediment show the head of Zeus, while the Asian spies of Homer's Thersites find their embodiment just as much in the later vase paintings as in the form of rucksack-carrying Oriental merchants.
From this fundamental insight, the entire perspective of world history shifts - we no longer see any "cultural circles" "as a whole" before us; we no longer strive desperately to reduce the many forces to a common denominator, to invent a harmony, but rather, the suddenly recognized struggle of the different natures seems to us today to be essential in our understanding.

Johann Jakob Bachofen, the interpreter of Greek myths, coined the term "swamp culture" in order to describe a condition he believed he had discovered while studying pre-Greek civilization: according to him, there were no firmly established states at that time, nor any clear social types; instead, people prayed to gods, mostly to goddesses of the earth, in the reed-filled swamps, such as Isis.
From this formless state, the form of Greek culture is said to have emerged, until it too sank back—into the swamp culture.
Bachofen believed he had discovered a law here, that the end of every culture leads back to its starting point - in this, he asserted something similar to the liberal: that anything could become everything.
In reality however, Greek culture did not emerge from pre-Greek culture, but rather overpowered and subdued it in a fierce struggle: Nordic patrilineal law triumphed over non-Nordic matriarchy; the gods of light and heaven subjugated the goddesses of night and earth; marriage triumphed over sexual collectivism, and form finally triumphed over chaos.
When Greece perished, it did not return to its beginnings, but sank into the chaos of the peoples of the Near East and Africa; the thin Nordic ruling class of the Hellenes was absorbed by the twentyfold superiority of those once subjugated, and with the bearer of the Homeric character, the soul-form of the Greek people also vanished forever.
This struggle of the different racial souls is, for us today, the crux of world and cultural history; the great figures of the past therefore pass before our mind's eye in a completely different light today, and we also judge German history and the nature of the spiritual and political struggles of our time quite differently as a result - we therefore know of no "Antiquity, Middle Ages, and Modern Era," which presupposes a linear development where one era follows the other immediately, continuing the previous one; instead, for us, a new history always begins where one new type of humanity has triumphed over another.
In the victory of Germanic culture over late Rome, in the shaping of that victory, and in the development of those values bequeathed to us by Theodoric and Stilicho, the Ottonians, Frederick II, the poets of heroic songs, and the builders of cathedrals—herein lies for us the essence of a German perspective on history; its criterion lies in determining whether a personality or an outstanding deed has uplifted, purified, and strengthened the Germanic soul or not.

Many a figure from Germany's past who was strong in their own right will not disappear from it as a result, but will take on a different interpretation and significance: what may once have inspired love will today be met with rejection, and what was once regarded as lesser will stand in the brightest light of our veneration.
This way of looking at things is neither biased nor unjust, as we have already heard echoed back to us a thousand times, for those who criticize us do not simply string events and figures together like mere chroniclers, but also evaluate them just as we do—whether from the standpoint of a dreamt-up "humanity" or from the perspective of a religious-political ideal; it seems just to us, above all, to judge those men—artists, thinkers, inventors, statesmen—on the basis of the consequences their deeds have wrought for the people from whom they were born.
No one has characterized this true justice more sharply than Nietzsche when he says that "Objectivity and justice have nothing to do with one another," understanding objectivity to mean the "cold and contemptuous neutrality of the so-called scientific man" - however painstakingly truthful we may be toward the genuine records of the past, we know today at last that writing history means just as much to evaluate as it does to shape history for the future in the present, for the struggle in this present is, on the one hand, bitter negation and, on the other, fervent affirmation—a colossal endeavor undertaken with political means of power to help the laws of aristocratic nature and the imperatives of Germanic blood triumph once more against the bloodless and natureless cosmopolitan city.
Life and politics, therefore, are not armchair debates about "rational expediencies" of a global economic or universalist nature, but a struggle for character values against characterlessness, of spiritual form against hostile form or formless chaos - it is precisely this attitude that is expressed in Point 24 of the National Socialist program, which places the Germanic sense of morality at the center of its values.

Article 1 of the Weimar Constitution states:

"State power emanates from the people."

This is the expression of liberalism, which, following the "abolition" of the monarchy, shifted to preaching an intangible, nebulous "popular sovereignty", and proclaimed as "public opinion" the purely mechanistic tallying of votes cast in secret ballots for a party or a law; the entire state ideology is thus based on the belief that quantities guarantee duality.
No value judgment underlies this liberal-Marxist thinking at all, though it must be added that the political thinking of pre-revolutionary monarchist Germany did not fundamentally differ from these materialistic notions - a National Socialist principle of state at the forefront of a new constitution would therefore read something like this:

"The state power of the German Reich is based on the preservation of national honor!"

This would establish a standard for political figures and their actions, and while differences of opinion will always arise, they will nevertheless be guided by a supreme value.
Today there are parties whose principles reject the very idea of national honor, which even demand the "right" to treason, and which put forward as leaders people who, under the rule of German concepts of the state, would have long since been behind prison walls - for this reason, our entire political life is chaotic, formless, aimless, and constantly fluctuating, because it is determined by parliamentary majorities whose

interests are mutually exclusive and which are only occasionally glossed over by compromises; in the coming Reich of National Socialism, people will thus also fight over means and methods, but they will be united in their goal—or must be eliminated.
This goal, however, is always: the health, the honor, and the freedom of the German people.
But only people of a kindred nature can be united in this goal—people who are capable of vividly sensing the common bond of blood and destiny shared by all Germans; that is why the demand of our program that only fellow members of the people may be granted civil rights is not some "outburst of reactionary chauvinism," but rather the most fundamental form of self-preservation; it was through disregard for this law of life that the old state, the "Second Reich," perished; Germany as an intellectual, political, and ethnic unity will perish altogether unless the systematic exclusion of those biologically and spiritually alien to Germanism is taken into the hands of a purposeful state leadership.

Adolf Hitler has repeatedly emphasized that no political or social upheaval would be sustainable or beneficial in the long run unless 1. living space is expanded, and 2. the German people are biologically improved; the succinct statement that Jews cannot be members of the German people therefore implies the self-evident demand for a German national state.
The Jew is a middleman in every respect—through banking and stock market speculation, through discount department stores, through dual citizenship, etc.; as a result of his particular character, he has become a major financial power, and in a democracy, money means power, political influence, and entry into "society."
The German national character has, over time since the fateful emancipation of the Jews by the liberal [Karl August von] Hardenberg, been eroded by Jews who have infiltrated the "leading" positions in intellectual and political life - for example, driven by a desire for luxury, the old Pomeranian sword nobility intermarried in the big cities with the daughters of Jewish commercial councilors; this mixing of blood at the most sensitive point of the social body has resulted in a paralysis of character, a degeneration of the spirit, which can only be healed by the removal of Jews and Jewish bastards—individual tragic cases must be accepted in this process.
This healing must be carried out politically through the revocation of all civil rights, subjection to foreign legislation, as well as ethnically through the non-recognition of marriages between Germans and Jews regardless of denomination, which must simultaneously have its social repercussions.
This fundamentally includes, even if it is not yet acute, a connection with Negroes and Negro descendants - France, which initiated Jewish emancipation, has today practically already carried out Negro emancipation, and relationships between Frenchmen and Negro women—and vice versa—are hardly objected to in Parisian life; additionally, Negro sculpture is in fashion, and Negro sermons on the radio are among the not infrequent pleasures.
In recent years, a Negro has represented France in colonial affairs at the League of Nations, and in 1931, this black man became Under-Secretary of State in the Paris Colonial Office - this is the first time in European history that a Negro has entered the government of a white state, a symbolic act with incalculable consequences.
Today, throughout the entire colored world, people speak of the Negro minister ruling over whites; the sense of self-worth among the masses of black slaves is rising more than ever, and France stands today not only as the Rothschild Republic, but as Africa's outpost on European soil—thus posing the cultural danger that threatens all of white humanity; the same therefore applies to Negroes and Negro bastards as to the Jews.

It is now a favorite tactic of the Jewish press to point out that the German people are not racially homogeneous even without the Jews, that a state structure based on race is therefore practically unworkable, and would only serve to exacerbate strife between the tribes—from which they conclude that the National Socialist concept of race is hostile to the people and the state; these typically Talmudic attempts at misdirection must be countered by the fact that while racial science identifies roughly five races in Europe, each with its own character, temperament, and mental disposition, it is beyond doubt that German ethnicity does not constitute a uniformly gray mixture, but rather is undoubtedly 80% of Germanic origin; this Nordic Germanic heritage has not only determined the rhythm of German life, but in many cases has also assimilated other European blood, and has undoubtedly even experienced certain enrichments in particular instances - all that is valuable, even in elements derived from Western or Dinaric blood, will find its standard of conduct and its formative element within the character traits of the Germanic essence.

The simple mystery that runs through millions today is precisely this self-awakening of the Germanic German spirit; works of this great self-reflection are piling up in an immense abundance, and in many questions, in the light of "prehistory," 1,500 years often seem to have been wiped away - we do not begin the history of the Germanic-German spirit with the year 1, but go back many thousands of years and draw a straight line from the bearers of the megalithic culture to Duke Widukind and Bismarck.

In this great awakening, every German, no matter where on our planet he may have been born, appears as a fellow fighter if he proves himself actively as a bearer of the values of German honor and freedom; those who are inferior in body and soul will be naturally weeded out by these demands for discipline in practical action, and thus, through the testing of Germanic values, the character of future German life will take shape.

The racial concept is therefore not a destructive element, but a unifying one; more than that, it is the ultimate unifying force to lead a people sickened by hardship, toil, cosmopolitanism, and Jewish poison toward unity and a strong state - that is why National Socialism demands the constitutionally mandated exclusion of all African and Asian elements from German life, and that is also why it has always demanded the unification of all Germans living abroad, as shown by the NSDAP being responsible for submitting the rejected motion that these people—insofar as they are German citizens—must also be represented in the political Reich Parliament of the homeland; as for Germans of foreign nationality, there is here a duty, hitherto shamefully neglected, to create a forum for them as well, for the purpose of representing their ethnic and cultural interests.[1]

***

All these considerations give rise to the demands set forth in Points 20, 21, 23, and 25; at the same time, this final consideration leads us into the realm of German foreign policy.

[1] Points 5, 7, and 8 of our program have been widely misunderstood in their wording; these concerned the demand for the expulsion of those whom one everywhere deports as "troublesome foreigners," but above all the expulsion of those Jewish hordes that have been streaming into Germany from all over the world since 1914.
A foreigner who "pursues an honest trade" should, within Germany's capabilities, naturally face no difficulties - should Germany ever have to accommodate non-Germans as a minority, "cultural autonomy" would have to be provided for.

Foreign Policy and Economic Ethics

The National Socialist stance on foreign policy has been entirely consistent from the very beginning; it remained unwavering despite all hostility, and it found its most brilliant justification in 1931.

The ideological foreign policy system of Weimar, represented by the Center Party, the Democrats, and the Social Democrats, was based—albeit in various shades—on the following premises: the German people were led to believe that the war waged by the Entente powers against Germany was not directed against the productive German nation itself, but against the Kaiser, the princes, and the so-called "military party"—a catchphrase that the Social Democrats, in particular, had adopted from the vocabulary of enemy propaganda and zealously perpetuated; furthermore, it was declared—and the revolution's first "People's Commissioner," Emil Barth, reiterated this at the final meeting of the revolutionary representatives—that the Entente could never dare to subjugate Germany, since the solidarity of the international proletariat was far too great, far too strong, and would prevent the exploitation of productive Germany.
The "Vorwärts" had already written the same thing on October 20th, 1918:

"No peace can be made while we are defenseless."

For over ten years now, Social Democracy has desperately tried to uphold these two principles out of a very understandable effort to somehow justify the revolt of 1918, for even the most stubborn Social Democrat must gradually have begun to wonder why they had brought about an upheaval whose consequences invited political and military impotence without parallel, and financial enslavement on an unprecedented scale - thus, the Social Democrats had no choice but to continue denouncing the "wicked old system" over and over again, thereby once more making themselves the henchmen of the enemy powers.
Before the Young Plan was adopted, the SPD's central organ, the "Vorwärts", declared in its August 30th, 1929, issue that the annual reparations were the consequences of the war against the entire world into which the German Reich had led us; meanwhile, at the Second International conference in Vienna in August 1931, to the cheers of Marxist representatives from around the world, the Austrian leader Otto Bauer asserted that Habsburg and Hohenzollern had dragged the world into the ruin of the World War! Now the shameful Treaty of Versailles, signed by the Social Democrat Müller and the Center Party leader Dr. Bell, rests—as has been confirmed a hundredfold—on the lie of war guilt; all subsequent financial dictates are based on this lie, which are presented as a just punishment for the German people, who are said to have caused the monstrous World War - thus, the Second International, and with it Social Democracy in Germany, consciously makes itself an accomplice of the mortal enemies of the productive German people.

The third thesis, which, alongside social democracy, was consistently advocated and implemented mainly by the Center Party, is the assertion that the central problem of European peace lies in an understanding between Germany and France - now, one may feel as one will about this idealized vision, but from the very first day, it was the worst kind of policy of illusion to base any real state policy on this pious wish; if one examines the ideology of the Weimar parties, the reasoning—while leading to the same conclusion—is, however, different.

Democracy and Social Democracy, as Jewish-led parties, have always harbored an ineradicable love for the France of Jewish emancipation; the establishment of a parliament similar to France's was presented by the "Vorwärts" even in the midst of the war as a desirable goal, and the rule of Jewish bankers in Paris with the aid of this parliament had always been a dream of the Jewish stockbrokers in Berlin as well; an "understanding" with France thus meant, for the Marxist and democratic circles of Berlin and Frankfurt, a major banking and business enterprise, the merger of large financial conglomerates, the elimination of nationalist Germany, and the toleration of French power politics.
The Center, on the other hand, envisioned a different, beloved France—namely, France as the "eldest daughter of the Roman Church" - during the war, contrary to earlier Masonic influences, the Roman Church had regained a firm foothold; as an example, among the officer corps were many influential supporters, notably Marshal Foch.
The religious orders were financially powerful and bought up one house after another on Rue Vanneau; the "Institut Catholique" under Mr. Beaudrillard continued to work feverishly, and the French battle cry—that to fight against France is to fight against God—was the battle cry of all French Catholics, joined by the Belgians under their Cardinal Mercier, who likewise identified Christianity with Frenchness, a line of thought that continues unbroken to this day through the stance of Archbishop Ruch in Strasbourg; the fact that during festivities the crucifix in French churches is draped with the tricolor, and that French bishops sign the most vehement "nationalist appeals" against Germany, expressly emphasizing that they would object if such appeals were to be regarded as pagan.
As the "Badische Beobachter," the leading Center Party newspaper, explains, Germany must come to terms with French hegemony, accept it as a given fact, and consequently also conclude an Ostlocarno[2] with the Poles - if the Center Party succeeds in reaching an "understanding with France," Paris's military and financial dominance over Europe will thus be unshakable.
Despite whatever concessions made—including to the "fellow believers in Poland"—they do not wish to fail to grant them plundered assets in some form, as long as they do not provoke too great an outcry in Germany - together with the Democrats and Social Democrats, they wish to relegate Germany to a third-rate power within a system that the Center calls the "Western mission," which the Social Democrats, in a different interpretation, tend to describe as Pan-Europe.

Apart from purely ideological and racial reasons, another pressure undoubtedly played a role in Social Democracy - as is well known, during the war, huge sums of money flowed from England and France via Switzerland, Holland, and Denmark into Marxist hands in Germany, and here and there the corners of the cloak of English and French "charity" have already been lifted.
The French spy Desgranges has described his experiences as a fat supplier in Germany during the war in his work "In geheimer Mission beim Feinde" (On a Secret Mission Behind Enemy Lines), and while one may strike out some of the self-congratulatory passages, the documents he prints in the book remain, which identify him as a direct agent of the French intelligence service and Clemenceau; Desgranges also triumphantly notes that, with the help of the substantial sums France donated to the Social Democrats in Germany, the revolution broke out at the specified time, as Desgranges prudently names only the late Hugo Haase among his collaborators in Germany.
As is well known, Haase was chairman of the Social Democratic Reichstag faction at the outbreak of the war; he then split off a portion of it and founded the Independent Social Democratic Party with Rudolf

[2] The Eastern Locarno, a proposal that was debated between 1925 and 1934 that would apply the principles of the Western Locarno Pact on Germany's Eastern borders, notably Poland. - The Translator

Breitscheid, Artur Crispien, Rudolf Hilferding, and others of a similar persuasion, who then worked with all their might toward the refusal of war credits.
According to the French spy, the leader of the Independents, the Jew Hugo Haase, was thus an accomplice and beneficiary of French silver and gold bullets; it is, of course, clear that this French spy is aware of a number of other gentlemen into whose empty hands the stream of gold from Paris and London flowed - we cannot however, of course, name names here, and we must leave it to future historical research to determine which of Hugo Haase's associates were aware of the matter, and which ones themselves profited from this treasonous enterprise and are now striving to keep the SPD on the "old line."

***

From this complex web of ideological and political dilemmas, fed by various sources, emerged all the treaties we refer to by the terms Locarno, League of Nations Pact, disarmament issue, Kellogg, Dawes, and Young; it has always been the case that French aspirations for a revision of the shameful Treaty of Versailles coincided with attempts by the Weimar parties to initiate a new "understanding" with France, and to then portray the resulting protocol of any new meeting as a great success for Germany.
Today, one can only utter the word "Locarno" with a laugh, but it would do us good to remember that this Locarno conference, which took place many, many years ago, was portrayed by the entire Jewish and international press in Germany as a tremendous success for Gustav Stresemann and the policy of understanding, that the entire world press echoed with talk of the "pacification of Europe," and when Gustav Stresemann then delivered the first speech in the League of Nations, the jubilation knew no bounds, as Germany was now said to have entered "world politics as an equal partner".
Yet in the midst of this frenzy, it became apparent that the effects of the Dawes Plan—which Stresemann himself had touted as a "Bible of the economy" and a "silver lining on the horizon," were not bearing good fruit - on the contrary, what the National Socialists had predicted came to pass: that Germany was incapable of paying the demanded tributes, that it was unable to continue that endless policy of compliance if it did not wish to collapse, and that, at long last, a fundamental revision of both the Treaty of Versailles and the Dawes Plan had to be initiated.
Then came the Paris and Hague Conferences, which were intended to amend the untenable Dawes Pact; once again it was the Social Democrats, the political bourgeoisie and the Center Party who worked by every means to maintain the so-called good understanding with France; they lacked the courage to finally face the true state of affairs, to enlighten the German people about the complete failure of the policy toward France, and thereby to deliver a blow to their own faces before the whole world - despite the terrible conditions, the aforementioned parties advocated for the adoption of the Young Plan.
In those days, the Weimar system, visible to the whole world for the first time, faced an opponent that would one day completely overcome it: the National Socialist German Workers' Party: it made itself the voice of the whole working, plundered people, and it did its duty by using every means to bring about the popular initiative, and then the referendum against the Young Plan - even if this did not succeed numerically, it nevertheless achieved such a result that the representatives of the Young policy had to officially commit themselves, in their efforts to prevail, even through radio addresses whose wording can no longer be denied, promises that we hold up to them today, in light of the collapse of this policy of submission as well.
It was Minister Severing at the time who, at a moment when even Dr. Schacht in Paris did not want to go beyond 1,600 million gold marks in tribute, publicly declared that if Germany were allowed to pay 2,000

million a year, that alone would be a relief that could be accepted - all National Socialists will hold these historic words of the Prussian Minister of the Interior—who is still in office today—against him as long as he continues to play any public role.
The same Severing said in another speech that the working people would already feel the relief provided by the Young Plan, and that it was necessary for everyone to share in this relief...
Foreign Minister Dr. Curtius, who was tasked with carrying on Gustav Stresemann's legacy, also stated in a radio address that the relief provided by the Young Plan could not be denied, and no dialectic could "dispel this fact"; his colleague and Finance Minister Moldenhauer also said that following the adoption of the Young Plan, progress would resume; this would lead to a revival of the credit sector, a stimulation of economic activity, and a reduction in taxes...
Mr. Moldenhauer, who upon assuming his ministerial post had declared that he would have the finances in order within fourteen days, had to disappear without a trace back into the underworld of his party, the German People's Party, and the Democrat Dietrich continued Young's policies in his place, just as inspired by "optimism," only to declare a few months later that hunger would drive the German people into the streets—which, however, did not prevent him from stating, in the midst of the greatest collapse, at the inauguration ceremony in the Reichstag in 1931, that Germany had been in the midst of a tremendous economic upswing since 1923!
Thus the much-praised Young Dictate came into force, but not even a year had passed before it became clear that the expected relief failed to materialize—indeed, turned into its opposite—and the frightened Democrats, led by Center Party Chancellor Brüning, had to make desperate efforts to keep the collapsing system afloat; then the days of the emergency decrees began, with one paragraph after another of the Weimar Constitution was sacrificed to Article 48, until finally, by the end of July, Germany had reached a point where the Center Party's central organ, "Germania", had to declare that these had been the darkest days in German history, and that the German people had not even known what abyss they were walking toward at the time.
The first chairman of the SPD, Wels, declared, according to "Vorwärts" of July 10th, 1931, that President Hoover's message had had a downright liberating effect on everyone who knew Germany's economic conditions in those days: Germany was indeed on the verge of collapse.

Following these imprudent admissions from the black and red camps, it has been clearly and officially established that the much-praised policy of compliance and accommodation, after ten years of torment, has brought Germany to the brink of the abyss.
In any other country, the government would have drawn the only possible conclusion from this catastrophic failure for the people, namely to step down and leave the leadership of the state to those who, for ten years, had said exactly what had always come to pass in each case - upon joining the League of Nations, upon accepting the Locarno Pact, and upon accepting the Dawes Dictate, we had repeatedly declared that all these treaties would only bind Germany further and further, that it could not escape the inevitable outcome, that all the sacrifices made to appease the French would be in vain, and that after a few years we would find ourselves facing the same situation as before the outbreak of war, only to find ourselves weakened twofold and threefold; furthermore, we declared that this weakening was the goal of French policy, the consistent pursuit of the French ambition not only to keep Germany militarily powerless, but to cripple it ethnically and ultimately to smash it completely.
France has not only been pursuing this goal today, but for a thousand years, and at every opportunity to realize this goal, France stands at the head of all those who can be mobilized in any way against Germany

- today it is the Poles, the Little Entente, which France—which had its Briand deliver peace speeches—has crisscrossed with railroads and supplied with weapons of every kind, in fear that Germany, rendered powerless by its tributes, rendered powerless by its Jewish press, might one day rise up against French domination.

The National Socialist German Workers' Party once again levels the charge against the Center Party, the Social Democrats, and the democratic political bourgeoisie today, on the threshold of the most difficult decisions, of having weakened Germany in accordance with French policy, paralyzed the national will, and made it a plaything of international financial powers through a mad bond policy - what specific motives have been decisive for these gentlemen is beyond our knowledge, but we are dealing here with the entire complex of political phenomena as they are reflected in the political party manifestos, and these results are now so glaringly evident that denial is no longer possible; so glaringly evident, in fact, that the Center Party has abandoned its previous attempts at whitewashing, and that in mid-August 1931, Reich Chancellor Brüning explained to an English journalist that the winter of 1931–32 might be the harshest winter in a hundred years, and that Germany would have an army of 7 million unemployed - this is the bankruptcy of the policies of the Center Party, the Social Democrats, and democracy, which we are once again observing.

***

How, then, did the NSDAP view foreign policy issues? What clear understanding did it have to offer in contrast to the policy of illusions, which ultimately reached a particular low point in the terrible collapse of the Customs Union in Geneva (September 1931)?

First, it must be acknowledged that foreign policy is not merely a matter of knowledge, but—especially in times of grave crisis—a question of character.

Terrible events in the life of nations occur, concentrated into a few short hours. In these few hours, the fate of centuries is often decided; in these moments, everything depends on whether the representative of a people or any group possesses character to the very end.

We wish to establish, therefore, that it is not merely a matter of new ideas, but of a new way of thinking altogether! In this transformation, however, we have a very harmful legacy to inherit.

Throughout the entire Middle Ages, the people's common sense was crippled by scholastic thinking; later periods, too, gave this abstract thinking the upper hand through a misguided humanism. Contemporary and world history was judged on the basis of abstract dogmas and vacuum-like premises. This way of thinking, which caused great harm in domestic politics, led to even greater catastrophes in the realm of foreign policy, because domestically the people could still be masters of their own destiny, whereas the wider world beyond the borders was hardly subject to their decisions.

From this abstract thinking, "one fateful decision after another was born: there was talk of the solidarity of the proletariat, of the solidarity of reason throughout the world, which culminated in the desire to create a Pan-Europe and, beyond that, a pacifist world republic."

These dreams of a segment of the German working class and the abstract German intelligentsia collapsed in August 1914, and collapsed once more at the end of 1918, yet the prophets of this life-denying ideology continue to voice their views.

But even on the national side—and it is this that concerns us most of all—this abstract thinking has penetrated deeply. We can observe the view that there are two fronts in the world after 1918: the front of the victors and the front of the vanquished, and from this line of thought many conclude that—since

Germany is the vanquished—it must make common cause with all the oppressed peoples of the earth. This is an extraordinarily dangerous idea.
In reality, the Entente fronts of 1914 were not born out of organic necessity—Clemenceau and Robertson themselves state in their memoirs how fragile this Entente remained even as late as 1917, how laboriously the cracks had to be patched up, and that ultimately only the shared fear of Germany held these fronts together.
And this front of the victors did not subsequently remain united for organic reasons, but rather as a result of the helplessness of German foreign policy, which failed to understand how to wedge itself into the existing cracks and increasingly loosen the fragile front.
We do not so much reproach our foreign policy to date for having sacrificed some part at some point, but rather for having sacrificed in the wrong place for ten years, and for having created no respite to gather our strength, but on the contrary only brought about a further weakening of the whole, since these sacrifices were offered to the insatiable hereditary enemy,
thus making him all the more greedy for plunder.

Bismarck's policy has always been geared toward isolating France, yet it was precisely this clear premise of German policy that had fallen into oblivion.
France had never recovered from its defeat in 1871; instead, it immediately sought to rally allies against Germany - even then, it looked longingly toward Russia. Bismarck, however, managed, through the Reinsurance Treaty, to wrest Russia—at least in large part—from France's clutches; he secured Russia influence in the Balkans, and indeed, he went even a step further: to the eventual opening of the Dardanelles should they be closed to England. In return, Russia promised neutrality in the event of a war with France.
Before concluding this treaty, Bismarck had consulted with England - England, however, believed it had to insist on its isolation and, feeling confident in its strength and power, refused; later, when Great Britain approached Germany, the treaty had already been concluded, and it was no longer possible to accommodate England.
We can read time and again in all the newspapers today that the Germans and the French are so close in spirit that the "salvation of Europe" would be possible if Germany and France were to come to an understanding - but one cannot conduct foreign policy based on such literary wordplay.
The foreign policy we pursue today—on the verge of collapse—is confronted by the ironclad facts of a thousand-year history, by France's lines of advance, which cannot be countered with newspaper articles and scholarly chatter.
France has had its very specific, politically dynamic law from the very first day of its existence - when Louis XI, the true founder of the French centralized state, had dismissed the barons and counts, he already declared: France's next goal was Alsace-Lorraine and the banks of the Rhine; since then, all his successors have repeatedly sought to achieve this goal, regardless of whether it was the French Kingdom or the Republic; the war of 1870–71, too, was launched solely with this goal in mind by Napoleon III - this is a historical fact, and it cannot be dispelled by the talk of certain people in Paris and Berlin.
There was once a fateful day for Germany which could have—had it recognized this fact—turned the tide of its fate when the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904–05, when it quickly became clear that Russia had to commit its entire military might to the Far East.

During those days, Germany found itself freed from a nightmare in the East, and also at the time, a reckoning was feared in Paris when a new conflict over Morocco was raging across the world—France had broken its treaties regarding Morocco without consulting Germany.
We know more details about these fateful days, which passed unnoticed at the time, from the memoirs of the German embassy counselor in London, Baron von Eckardstein - this German embassy counselor, who moved only in the circles of Jewish high finance, together with his mutual friends and the French Prime Minister, succeeded in preventing the emergence of any bellicose thoughts in Germany.[3]
At that time, for Mr. von Bülow and his friends, serving world peace was more important than seeing Germany become great, strong, and internally stable! Those were moments when character was needed, and character was lacking! Chief of the General Staff von Schlieffen stated: if a conflict had broken out at that time, it is reasonable to assume that we would have been able to deal with France.

If one tries to put oneself in France's position after the war, it is clear that France needed a period of calm to digest the morsel it had devoured—like "a giant snake that has consumed a calf." France needed time to reorganize its defenses along the German border from the North Sea to the Alps, money to rebuild its northern provinces, and time to get its new allies up and running and equipped, for there can be no doubt that France's policy after 1918 did not cease to pursue its centuries-old desire for the Rhine.
But France's yearning extends not only to the Rhine, but aims at Germany's destruction - Germany as a state is to be wiped out in Europe! To this end, all means are justified, the means of politics, military power, and finance - in all these areas, French foreign policy demonstrates tremendous agility and tremendous skill.
This is a statement of the terrible fact that, upon the end of the "Great War," France immediately began a new war, only with different means - and all the while, Germany pays, and continues to pay for nothing but French rearmament, the French fortifications in the East, the French fleet, the expansion of French ports as reparations, and arms its mortal enemy with everything!
Hitler has been proclaiming this fact for twelve years; he has declared—and the entire National Socialist movement has steadfastly maintained this position—that an understanding cannot take place, insofar as "understanding" is understood to mean the equal rights of two peoples, for France has never, ever voluntarily shown itself willing to accept such an understanding.
We cannot say of our own accord that we are "preparing a war of revenge against France"; on the contrary, we have even declared that if France possessed any reason, it would not have cut Germany off in the East, but would have allowed us to expand eastward - it is therefore not true that we wish to destroy the French state per se, but we want only a German state that is not fair game for French lust for power! We do not preach war against France, but we want living space for a great civilized people; we want space for the farmers in the East so that the German people can feed themselves.
Today these great problems stand before us once again - we know that in the East, in that territory conquered and cultivated with German blood, an enemy has spread: our mortal enemy Poland, France's satellite! If one refuses to admit this, one renounces 1,000 years of German history, 1,000 years of German sacrifices made for this history, and one renounces the achievements of the great struggle. Granting freedom to the German peasant in the East is the foundation of the entire renewal of our people!

[3] Further details on this and on the rationale behind all other foreign policy ideas of the NSDAP can be found in A. Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and in my treatise "Der Zukunftsweg einer deutschen Außenpolitik" (The Future Path of German Foreign Policy); both published by Frz. Eher Nachf., Munich.

That is what politics is about today, and the task of German foreign policy was—and is today more than ever—to determine which states have no interest in this hegemony of France and its satellites over Europe, as assumed by the Center.

Italy needs living space to expand, and to avoid sending its surplus population to South America, it seeks countries connected to the motherland.
Italy was drawn into the war with grand promises; it was promised a stretch of coastline in Asia Minor, Greek islands—yet all of it has been taken away from it. Furthermore, Italy has interests in the Balkans, but here, Italy wishes to withdraw from this victorious front, in contrast to France's interests in the Balkans.
Nothing has been made of our foreign policy - but now, after twelve years of denouncing and fighting fascism, Reich Chancellor Brüning had to travel to Rome, though not voluntarily, but because he had seen that the entire foreign policy ideology of the Center had miserably collapsed.
Reichsbank President Luther said in June: "In two weeks, the budget will be back in order"; he traveled to London, Paris, and Basel and returned terribly disappointed, since he heard of conditions that he, as President of the Reichsbank, could not accept - while the French government did not openly impose them, the newspapers published them at the behest of the French Ministry so that the Jewish press in Berlin could write that France had not set any official conditions at all; finally, Paris dealt Germany the most devastating blow on the issue of the customs union.
In August 1931, to the surprise of the entire world, Hungary changed its system, which had closely linked its fate to that of Germany - while Hungary had pursued this policy with complete loyalty, today Hungary has had to grudgingly take the path toward its worst enemies because Germany showed no sympathy for "Horthy's Hungary."
France is striving to grant its Polish kin protection in the East as well; it has been conducting negotiations with Moscow for quite some time, and whether and what will come of these plans, no one can say - but the efforts amount to making Poland independent and ready to pounce on East Prussia.
England has experienced many domestic political struggles and currently finds itself in the midst of conflicts on a scale not seen in a decade; the fact that it is threatened by the French air force is prompting the English instinct to expand its own air force, and the fact that it is also under attack from French financial power will hopefully result in further defensive measures.
In terms of foreign policy, Germany faces these issues just as it did ten years ago: sacrifices are made over and over again, and all these sacrifices are in vain because they go to France.
When the politicians of compromise declare: "With this people, no other foreign policy can be pursued," we say: it goes without saying that a foreign policy cannot be pursued with Marxism, since Marxism is most closely linked to our hereditary enemy, yet with this very Marxism, the so-called bourgeoisie has supported French policy and have opposed National Socialism, attempting to suppress the awakening of the nation precisely with this Francophile, anti-popular Marxism - until no national segment of the people stood behind the policy of appeasement at all.
Which specific questions and solutions will arise for the future state is not the task of this discussion; it is the task of a later assessment, based on the respective situation and possibilities - what is essential is the fundamental insight that everything must be done to prevent the French system from ruling over all of Europe.

Our opponents tell us that, in the face of a National Socialist government, the moment may very soon come when France invades Germany.
That France can invade if Germany's powerlessness grows even greater goes without saying; this powerlessness will continue to grow precisely because of the policy of appeasement pursued in the past and today.
But France will think very carefully before taking such a step if it faces a united Germany that stands not only on its own, but in a united front with all of France's opponents; this increases the risk of a French invasion by 80 percent.
It follows from this complex of factors that the rebirth of foreign policy must also begin with a rebirth of character: an iron will that clearly and soberly recognizes France, in order to then rally all forces to secure the life of the German people.
More cannot be elaborated upon at this point; what remains essential is the fundamental insight into the assessment of the French problem, from which the correct perspective for evaluating all other foreign policy issues also arises.

***

Since this text is not an exposé on economic policy, I shall limit myself to the fundamentals and establish the standpoint from which the National Socialist also addresses economic issues.
Gottfried Feder has quite rightly emphasized—in contrast to the purely private, individualistic conception of profitability—that, in our sense, the economy must be entirely about meeting needs, and that the expression "the common good takes precedence over self-interest" must therefore be interpreted to mean that the national need stands above all private profits - this has successfully outlined the task of a true national economy, but we must go even deeper.

If we initially established that racial health and hereditary fitness are the very prerequisites for the state (and culture), and that politics thus constitutes a means in the service of preserving the blood, then the same task arises for the economy as well - the goal of every economy must be to strengthen the people in the struggle for their existence, in their struggle against external powers and internal destructive forces; the economy thereby receives a biological mission, and only when this has been recognized and acknowledged as its primary task can the evaluation of the various economic systems begin.
In light of this, we therefore decisively reject any dogmatism regarding form, and it is in this respect above all that National Socialism differs from purely theoretical minds and abstract speculations, which are now springing up like mushrooms in the wake of the collapse of purely private-capitalist doctrines; even in nationalist Germany, there are enough dreamers and literati who are now regarded as particularly "revolutionary" and want to nationalize and socialize virtually everything - we, however, believe that the true state must restore the value of the real personality not only in politics, but also in the economy. for, strange as this may sound, it is precisely this that has been increasingly suppressed under the rule of the liberal system.
Today, financial capital and the anonymous joint-stock company reign supreme over the inventor and creator; to liberate the true personality in technology and the economy, it must be freed from the speculative financial rule of profit-hungry stockbrokers - therefore, National Socialism demands, for the protection of the genuine national economy, the nationalization or state control of the major banks and large-scale credit, as well as the abolition of anonymous joint-stock companies.

The German economy is already far too powerless today to free itself from the clutches of the mostly Jewish big bankers: only a strong political movement can do this.
National Socialism has taken on this mission not out of love for industry and the economy, as certain "revolutionaries" scornfully claim, but in the recognition that only in this way can the German working class also be helped, for if, in a people's state, the health and strength of the nation are the highest good—and at the same time the strongest economic capital—and credit control rests in the hands of National Socialist state leaders, only then is it possible to exert a direct influence on the fate of the many millions of workers - if today industrialists and other entrepreneurs are constrained by private profits derived from financial capitalism, the public good—represented by the state government—takes their place, and it is then up to the government to emphatically remind the entrepreneur of his duty toward the people as a whole.

Many generations of German workers have been deprived of their right to life by the onslaught of technology; their great protest against it was therefore deeply justified, and the struggle against the "smokestack barons" looming before them was understandable, in many individual cases even necessary. The liberal state, the "Second Reich," proved incapable of solving the great problem set before it, instead only seeking to master it "from above" (to quote Bismarck), or approached the issues with ideas of "charity"; only a few among the intellectual leadership had grasped that this was a matter of asserting a Germanic conception of justice against a democratized stock market world (Perrot, Lagarde, Nietzsche). This consideration now leads us away from the dispute on the rational level (whether this or that form is the most appropriate), but takes us deep into the realm of the forces of will, of values, for the indignation of the Fourth Estate was a protest born originally of a sense of justice, and the National Socialist movement is essentially the restoration of this instinct—which had strayed into Marxism—back into the realm of these character values.
In the Germanic Middle Ages, the guilds were required to be as pure as if they had been harvested by doves; under Old Germanic law, only a man of honor had legal capacity, and bankruptcy for a member of the Hanseatic League was the most dreadful thing that could befall him - today, social democracy protects the biggest profiteers (Barmat[4], Sklarek[5], etc.) and demonstrates thereby alone that it must be internally incapable of fighting against the corrupt capitalist world—indeed, that it is merely an appendage of the worst offshoots of this world; meanwhile, bankruptcy today—in many cases certainly through no fault of one's own—has become for thousands a most welcome means of "business liquidation," without anyone taking serious offense at it.
From this point onward, the restoration of a German economic ethic must be the foundation for the recovery of our lives, and only when the concept of honor has become the highest good of the people, when the entire economic conduct of the state, municipalities, and individuals is measured against this concept of honor, and when the judge passes his judgment from this standpoint, will the first and most essential prerequisites for the much-discussed "economic recovery" have been established; from this realm of values will then also emerge the forms and technical necessities in specific matters, here, too,

[4] Referring to the Barmats scandal of 1924-1925, which saw two Jewish businessmen and brothers, the Barmats, bribing and securing unsecured loans from SPD officials, leading to one of the longest trials in Weimar's history. - The Translator
[5] Referring to the Sklarek scandal of 1927, which saw the Jewish Sklarek brothers, all businessmen, being charged with fraud and of stealing 10 million marks from the Berlin municipality. - The Translator

accompanied by the further realization that it is the nation's overall political destiny that determines whether an economy flourishes or declines.

After 1871, we had not solved the problems - we had the choice of following in the footsteps of Henry the Lion and Frederick the Great further eastward, or of over-industrializing ourselves; we chose the second path, the path of "economic" conquest, and thereby created not a single enemy as in the first case (Russia), but the enmity of all nations already engaged in world trade, without even drawing the logical consequence of an alliance with Russia at the expense of Austria-Hungary.
Today, this export policy is being pursued once again under the pressure of a tribute policy, filling France's coffers and provoking resistance from all other states as well - until a clear reversal takes place here, there can be no serious talk of economic recovery, and foreign and domestic policy thus form an organic whole.
Without a "spiritual" rebirth and purification of inner life, no unified and powerful foreign policy is possible; without a wise foreign policy focused on the essentials, it will be all the more difficult to truly carry out the overall foundation of the nation.

***

In this context, one issue has increasingly come to the fore amidst the economic and political struggles of our movement: agricultural policy.
What is taking place today under the influence of biologically informed National Socialism is the restoration of our peasant's standing - mocked by the ruling class in the Middle Ages, later cheated out of his Germanic rights by Roman legal scholars, and pushed to the wall by Latin-speaking judges, and in the liberal era mocked as intellectually backward and brazenly foolish while being threatened by Marxism with an open campaign of extermination, the German peasant today celebrates his day of honor through the NSDAP.
We, who have freed ourselves from foreign legal concepts and the liberal-Marxist underworld, do not recognize the peasant as a class among classes, but as the prerequisite for our economic existence, indeed as the very source of our racial renewal (to quote Darré) - in the cosmopolitan city, we see generations passing quickly, we see lives dying on the asphalt, and out of genuine protest against these signs of decline, we turn our gaze back to our village, not out of pseudo-romantic enthusiasm, but out of the deepest awareness that the preservation of the peasant ethos—in its austerity, industriousness, and fertility—also holds within it the hope of a coming rebirth.
To the peasants, we National Socialists must proudly say: it was not your narrow-minded old class parties that made salvation possible for you peasants as well, but soldiers, tradespeople, yes, even poor industrial workers who fought and bled for you too; what the cosmopolitan city, what Marxism has done to the peasant, has been made up for by National Socialism, and ever-larger groups of peasants are realizing today that they, too, must place the nation as a whole above all else, and therefore must fight in Hitler's German freedom movement, which in so many ways has become the modern continuation of the once bloodily suppressed peasant wars of the 16th century.
Only when state credit is in the hands of a National Socialist government will "unprofitable" luxury and export industries not be artificially inflated and peasants' land put under the hammer, but every productive enterprise will receive the necessary support; this is particularly true for economic reasons, for, however large the export profit may seem, it is a loss in the overall context if old farms must be auctioned off

because of it, as is already the case in countless instances today; this is yet another proof that the old system possessed no economic mindset whatsoever, but only various class-profit-driven group interests. Thus, the problem of economic rebirth is also part of the restoration of the concept of value in social life, of freedom in foreign policy and territorial expansion, and of the consolidation of the agricultural sector as a prerequisite for the very existence of our people - once this is achieved, we can confidently leave the resolution of individual issues to those who have fought for our political freedom.[6]

[6] Incidentally, the specific issues are being discussed in detail by the Economic Department of the NSDAP's Reich Leadership.

Worldview, Religion, Politics

The issue of National Socialism and religion has been a constant source of debate ever since the emergence of the NSDAP.
From the very beginning, Adolf Hitler had adopted the stance of a statesman who regards the existence of different religious beliefs as a given and seeks to keep the political movement separate from religious conflicts - in his seminal work “Mein Kampf”, drawing on the ancient Germanic sensibility (which had inspired the Visigoths and Theodoric just as much as the “pagan” Frisian kings), he emphasizes respect for every genuine religious conviction; he also views Christianity, in the broadest sense as a phenomenon bound to Jesus Christ, as a real, existing spiritual foundation of our existence, and from the totality of this attitude in him and the other founders of the National Socialist movement arose the much-contested Point 24 of the party program.

One would think that every Christian denomination should have been pleased to witness the emergence of a workers’ movement that was preparing with all its energy to fight against soul-destroying, atheistic Marxism, that further took up the idealistic idea against the rule of Mammon in our time, and that, like Jesus once did, brandished the whip against the money changers and merchants - but the opposite occurred! Ironically, the very party that claimed to pursue only Christian politics rose up to fight against National Socialism and, as the latter grew stronger, increasingly sided with social democracy—which is hostile to all religions; it formed coalitions for the purpose of eradicating the Christian-German labor movement and supported those powers that, for years, had financed the movement to leave the church, and have not ceased this propaganda even after the coalition agreements, right up to the present day.
There was something that Marxism detested just as much as the Center Party did: the conscious sense of national identity and the appeal to a Germanic sense of morality, as was the case in Point 24; at Catholic congresses, which were in fact Center Party gatherings (Constance 1923), German nationalism was therefore portrayed as “the greatest heresy,” and bishops (Mainz) and cardinals (such as Bertram) vied with one another in condemning this “neo-paganism,” while banning those with membership in the NSDAP from becoming church leaders; indeed, in some places, they even excluded Catholic National Socialists from the sacraments - in doing so, they invoked Catholic doctrine.
What is remarkable in light of these attempts is the fact that in strictly Catholic Italy, the most extreme form of nationalism has become the state ideology, and the government, and that the Pope, who for decades had refused any reconciliation with liberalism, made peace precisely with the leader of this most ardent nationalism—indeed, even went so far as to call Mussolini a “man of providence” after the signing of the Lateran Pact; the royal anthem now sounds even more frequently from the church organs of Italy, and among the cardinals of Italian origin, the saying goes that beneath their purple robes they all wear the black shirt of Fascism.
The German people now claim nothing more than that they, as a whole, be granted the same right to rational pride, the right to establish a genuine nation-state based on their character - if, in light of the now undeniable Italian reality, this is denied to them by their church leaders on the basis of “Catholic doctrine,” there are only two consequences: either there are two Catholic doctrines, or the faith of the

Catholic masses is being deliberately misled to achieve political goals; since the former case is ruled out (the Roman Church has only one head), only the latter remains.

Although the Center fields Zionists and chairmen of Jewish religious communities as Reichstag candidates, and also admits Protestants as members without influence, it is nonetheless a strictly Catholic confessional party - just as Marxism seeks to perpetuate the division of the nation through the doctrine of social class struggle, so has the Center declared a denominational class struggle against the German nation, carrying the spiritual, religious struggle into the sphere of power politics; just as the Social Democrat has only his class in mind, so does the Center leader have only his denominational interests. This party thrives on conflict, and that is why it has hated the NSDAP from the very first day with a deep-seated hatred, because within the NSDAP, religious tolerance had been put into practice in an exemplary manner as a living example: religious differences of opinion and philosophical disputes had to be conducted outside the party organization, because as soon as the party convened, as soon as the SA donned its brown shirts, there were no longer Catholics and Protestants, but only Germans fighting for the survival and honor of their people.
No comrade in the NSDAP is asked whether he is Catholic or Protestant, whether he belongs to the German Church or is a Reformed Christian - what matters is his service to German freedom; the deep wounds of the Thirty Years' War finally began to heal within the National Socialist movement, just as the wounds of the Marxist and bourgeois class struggle began to scar over.
Then arose the concerted struggle of all those political upstarts who sucked the blood from these wounds on the body of the people to sustain their parasitic existence - the Marxists screamed "servants of the capitalists," the bourgeois leaders railed against "National Bolsheviks," and the Center Party cried out "enemies of every religion" - all of them were and are liars.

Never has religious sentiment been treated with such unscrupulousness as by the Center Party and the political prelates who led it - specifically, there was one point in particular that the zealous dialecticians repeatedly targeted:
As noted above, National Socialism claims not to be an ordinary political party, but also a worldview; to consolidate the struggle against German nationalism, the Center points to this worldview and declares it to be "pagan, anti-Catholic racial idolatry" - in response to this battle cry, which rages today more than ever, it must be said that racial science established the diversity and unequal value of races, just as discoveries were made in the fields of physics and chemistry; such a discovery cannot be combated by any dogmas or anathemas, and the Church has already had to bow to these facts on multiple occasions. When Copernicus once came forward with his heliocentric theory, when the flat Earth with heaven above and hell below suddenly became a sphere floating freely in space, a whole world of dogmas rose up against this teaching; even up until the year 1827 (!), all works that taught this solar system were on the Index.
Copernicus's discovery naturally entailed a worldview entirely different from the biblical one, a different view of the world, but this discovery did no harm whatsoever to true religion, which springs from the human soul - it took the Roman and Protestant churches (Luther had called Copernicus a charlatan and a fraud) about 300 years to come to terms with the new worldview, but they had to yield to it in the end.
Another example is the treatment of the mother tongue, when only the use of pagan (here this term is entirely appropriate) Latin was allowed; Meister Eckhart was fiercely opposed when he favored the German language, yet the entire German people owe the High German language that unites the nation to

the heretic Luther—something in which the Protestant shares as much as the Catholic, even if the Jesuit calls his cousin Luther a "nun-abuser," a "filthy sow," or a "sow's snout."
The statutes of the Jesuit Order stated that the use of the mother tongue was never permitted in any matters concerning the school; in 1830, the Order was forced to at least permit the mother tongue for poetry - this at a time when Goethe was nearing the end of his life's work! And the well-known Jesuit Father Duhr confessed:

"This remained the principle henceforth: the practice of the mother tongue is recommended, but it should not be made into a separate school subject."

This persecution of the most precious thing a people calls its own has been overcome - today, while safeguarding the interests of its faithful, the Roman Church often advocates for the mother tongue itself. The situation is now quite similar with regard to racial studies in relation to religion - a judgment by a bishop, a cardinal, or even the Pope regarding race is, in this case, purely a private opinion on a biological or politically related issue that lies outside the purely religious authority to which the devout Catholic grants him: a dogmatic condemnation can no longer reverse a scientific discovery.
In the Middle Ages, researchers were burned as sorcerers; today, the Vatican is building itself a radio station that Torquemada would surely have cursed as the devil's most evil work - that is why the struggle against racial science is not of a religious nature, but a struggle of political interests that had previously rallied their voters on a different basis; an anathema against blood consciousness will therefore also be overcome for the same reason that Copernicus triumphed, although it is an irony of world history that one of the most sensitive researchers of the laws of heredity was a Catholic priest, Gregor Mendel…

It follows from these explanations that worldview and religion are not the same thing: a worldview can exist outside of religion (atomistic worldview, naturalistic monism), but it can also encompass religion. The National Socialist movement is a people's politics based on a new yet ancient and firmly established worldview of the value of blood; it seeks to protect healthy, good blood, whether one wishes to describe this as God's creation or an iron law of nature - in both cases, National Socialism serves a constructive principle, which in itself already implies a religious underlying sentiment.
The political struggle movement leaves the most delicate questions of the soul—concerning God and immortality, fate and grace—to the individual to decide; each person may seek out those comforters and spiritual guides whom they need to enrich their innermost life.

Those who oppose the conscious German essence in Bavaria, Silesia, and along the Rhine, in their hatred, go so far in their criticism of Point 24 of the National Socialist program as to claim that there is no such thing as a distinct "Germanic sense of morality"[7] that could be regarded as a standard for action; this amounts to a deliberate denial of German cultural consciousness itself, and a terrible disregard for the value of one's own ancestors - without the character traits necessary for the building of a state and society, Germany, for example, would never have emerged as a way of life, and without the will to power and the will to shape, the very soil on which those who have become the beneficiaries of this colonizing advance now stand—yet who are inwardly completely estranged from the founders of prosperity, freedom, and the state—would never have been conquered.

[7] "The Center Party knows of no 'Germanic moral ideal,'" stated the party's official "Newsletter" (No. 12, 1930) - nor has anyone claimed otherwise.

Strictly speaking, they are parasites on the achievements of their fathers, and if the state-building character was indeed a part of Germanic morality, then this has manifested itself so magnificently in other aspects of life and in art that it takes an audacity without parallel to equate the Germanic essence with that of the Hottentots or the Jews - when, for example, the Vandal Stilicho became regent of Rome, one of his first acts was to ban gladiatorial combat, that dreadful symbol of a degenerate, brutalized world, which had adopted those cruel games from the Etruscans of the Near East; the great Ostrogoth Theodoric later did the same, replacing the gladiatorial slaughter with knightly tournaments.
Without now falling into a one-sided glorification of Germanic culture, one may surely say that, for example, the "Gudrunlied" [Kudrun], the hymn of a proud woman, corresponds to a most beautiful spiritual longing, just as does the noble, magnanimous figure of Siegfried; even in Hagen, something unconditional and reconciling glimmers from a deep foundation: loyalty to his king.
Germanic morality was that profound sincerity toward oneself, which sought to give an account of its self, of nature, of the cosmos; from this longing were born the mystics, the great explorers of nature, up to Immanuel Kant's sublime doctrine of duty; in German music, this soul has become a life that transcends the world, so that the denial of this Germanic-German value constitutes an attack aimed at the destruction of the German soul that has always shaped the world - that such a denial could be openly expressed shows the profound decline that Germany as a people must suffer today, but also demonstrates the necessity of a general popular resistance, regardless of religious creed, against a course of action whose end result is racial chaos and the spiritual—and subsequently political—downfall of the German nation.

The words regarding the "Germanic sense of morality" are often directed against the so-called Talmudic religion, but however one may evaluate the Old Testament—whether as a purely Jewish record or as a distortion of other, including Aryan, ideas—may be left to the investigations of individual researchers - the NSDAP, in any case, does not in any way restrict these investigations, but as a party also takes no position on this matter either.
However, whatever this may serve to enlighten, particularly for strictly orthodox Protestant circles which have directed their attacks against the NSDAP from this angle, there can be no doubt regarding the stance on the subsequent development of Jewish identity in the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruch; it is absolutely clear that we are dealing here with a "morality" that unscrupulously aims to exploit non-Jews and, through this "religiously" immanent work falsely called a code of ethics, to consolidate the entire Jewish people into a unified community; the Jewish community has attempted to portray some translations as "forgeries," but even if one were to omit the disputed passages, there remains more than enough to categorically reject this immorality both from the perspective of Christian doctrine and the Germanic sense of morality.
This includes the highly controversial issue of ritual slaughter - according to the unanimous opinion of all German experts, ritual slaughter is nothing but a terrible form of animal cruelty, and in countless petitions from humane veterinarians and German associations, the cruelty of the Jewish ritual has been proven time and again, with the NSDAP immediately placing itself at the forefront of the struggle to abolish this cruelty.
This attitude toward animals, as fellow beings on this earth, is also part of the Germanic sense of morality—now slandered—which is not found among mixed-race peoples - as Schopenhauer and Wagner spoke out deeply and emphatically in defense of creatures, the NSDAP also adheres to this worldview.
One might now expect to see the Center Party and the Bavarian People's Party fighting on the same front, since Christian charity is, after all, directed against all unnecessary suffering, yet it is precisely the

Bavarian People's Party that has consistently voted against the ban on ritual animal cruelty in the Bavarian state parliament, a ban that could ultimately only be passed with the help of the Social Democrats; this is justified on the grounds of "religious tolerance," whereby blatant animal cruelty has also been declared a form of religion; the Center Party also takes the same stance at the national level—a concentration of anti-Christian and anti-German sentiment, dictated by fear of the power of the Jewish moneybags.

And finally, and most decisively for National Socialism, there is the Talmud's stance on the person of Jesus Christ - while many religious forms invoke him, and mutually almost exclusive dogmatic systems trace their origins to him, the NSDAP does not concern itself with the struggle over these questions, as they lie outside its competence; however, it does regard the figure of the founder of Christianity—who ultimately towers above all churches—with profound reverence, and it has always stood up for the honor of his name and has consistently fought against any mockery of it—which cannot be said of the Center Party and the Bavarian People's Party.

The Talmud deals with Jesus in several places, and does so in an unspeakably abusive manner: Jesus is called "the hanged one," "the bastard," "the son of the beast of fornication"; this hatred is expressed particularly clearly even beyond his death, in that the Talmud has Jesus judged in Hell for his misdeeds "with boiling excrement" - the Talmud remains a binding code of moral law for the vast majority of Jewry today.

All this did not prevent the Center Party from crowning its anti-Christian practices by daring to present Georg Kareski, the chairman of the Berlin Jewish Community, to its voters as a candidate for the Reichstag in 1930! Kareski is, moreover, an immigrant from Eastern Europe, and is therefore particularly faithful to the Talmud, and furthermore, he is a Zionist leader, i.e., a representative of extreme Jewish-racial nationalism - while German nationalism is thus viciously combated by the Center Party as heresy, the pan-Jewish movement is recognized by admitting its extremists into the leadership of the Center Party; last but not least—and most telling—is the fact that Kareski is a director for the Jewish currency speculator Jakob Michael...

It is impossible to imagine a worse mockery of Jesus Christ than the candidacy of the Talmudic Jew Kareski, for it now robs the Center Party as a whole of any remaining right to present itself as a representative of either Catholic or Christian thought - deeds decide, not hypocritical lip service.

When, years ago, a crucifixion was displayed at a Munich exhibition that represented a terrible mockery of Christ, Adolf Hitler protested against this challenge to Christian Germany, against which the government of the Bavarian People's Party had nothing to object - only then was the "sculpture" removed; furthermore, it was the NSDAP that took a stand against the mockery by George Groß in his sketchbook "Ecce Homo", yet this Groß was acquitted by the Prussian court, under the Justice Minister of the Center Party!

The first thing the National Socialist Minister of Education, Dr. Frick, implemented in Thuringia was the recommendation of Christian school prayers, combined with a prayer for the resurrection of the German fatherland; the response to this was a storm of protest from the Marxists and the Center Party, and then a Reich Court ruled that these prayers were unconstitutional...

In Braunschweig, the Social Democrats had ruled unchallenged for years, yet in 1930, this state also received a National Socialist minister; he, too, reintroduced school prayer—previously banned—for both Christian denominations, and the Center Party, which had been allied with atheistic Marxism in Prussia for years, had not deemed it necessary to use that alliance to exert pressure on the comrades in Braunschweig, for the acquisition of political sinecures took precedence over everything else.

When the Center Party now brazenly declares that National Socialism is organizing a new "Kulturkampf"—that is, preparing state persecution of the Catholic Church—this is a slanderous lie of the worst kind, for whatever an individual National Socialist may think of one religious dogma or another, he has always rejected any power-political intervention against a creed, and will continue to do so in the future - he has proven this through his actions.
The Center Party as a whole, meanwhile, has done the opposite: it defended Catholic dogmas with its lips, but through its alliances with Marxism, it has enabled the latter to engage in unrestrained atheistic propaganda, thereby aiding Bolshevism as a whole - the prerequisite for religious renewal is thus the destruction of Marxism and the defeat of the Center Party, as long as it continues to foster Marxism in practice.
On the Protestant side, similarly minded political opportunists have watched the anti-Marxist movement grow, and they have now founded a denominational party similar to the Center: the Christian Social People's Party; there can be no doubt that National Socialism takes exactly the same stance toward this "Protestant" foundation as it does toward the "Catholic" Center, since the greater successes of the "People's Party" would force the struggle back onto a level that must remain outside the great political head-on battle of all.
Incidentally, the first thing the Reichstag faction of these "Protestants" did was to vote against the national opposition's candidate for the post of Reichstag President; they preferred, together with the Center Party, to cast their vote for the champion of conscientious objection, the left-wing Social Democrat Paul Loebe - here, too, therefore, a clear betrayal of both the national and Christian ideals.
In light of this treacherous attitude—driven by purely materialistic thinking—on the part of the political representatives of both denominations, it is no wonder that the movement to leave the church is growing, that the sects of the Adventists, the Seventh-day Adventists, etc., are swelling enormously, and indeed that the Moscow International of the Godless is setting out to systematically destroy all religious values and is mobilizing immense resources to that end; the NSDAP has also taken action against these forces that destroy the people (in Munich, too, the rallies of the "Bible Students" were banned by the government of the Bavarian People's Party only after clear words from our side), but the very fact that all these movements are gaining ground reveals the weakness of the internal appeal of the current leadership of both the Catholic and Protestant churches.

Assessing the deeper ideological causes that may be at play here lies outside the NSDAP's sphere of competence, but it believes it has the absolute right and the imperative duty to point out one phenomenon: the encroachment of the clergy into political party struggles.
Bismarck himself had already reproached Stoecker for wanting to be both an active preacher and a political leader, acting on the sound instinct that general national policy would inevitably be subordinated to purely denominational considerations—a situation in which the psyche of the pastor and that of the political leader could not be organically reconciled.
Today, we in Germany are once again faced with the fact that a party, the Center Party, is under purely clerical leadership - the party chairman of the Center and, moreover, its foreign policy spokesman (along with Prelate Ulitzka) is the papal prelate Dr. Kaas; meanwhile, the actual head of the Bavarian People's Party is the leader of the state parliamentary group in Bavaria, Cathedral Provost Wohlmuch, and the leader of this party's Reichstag faction, and likewise its foreign policy spokesman, is Cathedral Dean Leicht.

The main influence of the Catholic Press Association lies in the hands of Prelate Müller, while Prelates Fahsel, Father Muckermann S.I., etc. work to influence public opinion in the spirit of the Center; a clergyman, Dr. Moenius (editor of the "Allgemeine Rundschau"), describes it as his "Catholic" duty to "break the backbone" of (German) nationalism and prevent the formation of a German nation-state ("Paris Frankreichs Herz" [Paris, the Heart of France]) - thus, Catholic priests are active on the front lines of the political struggle for the Center (patriotic clergy, such as Abbot Schachleitner and Dr. Haeuser, are simply forbidden to speak), and when the Center's corrupting policies are opposed—even in the form of rejecting the leaders—this is called "insulting the priests."
Here, Italy has once again—and specifically on the Pope's orders—set an example: there, too, during the era of liberalism and Marxism, there was a liberal-Catholic party led by the priest Don Sturzo, the so-called Popular Party - Don Sturzo was a fierce opponent of Fascism, accusing it, quite in the spirit of the German Center prelates, of "idolizing the nation" and the like.
Then, in 1923, the Vatican intervened - Don Sturzo and all priests were prohibited from political activity, and Pope Pius XI officially declared:

"There is no Catholic party, and there cannot be one; Catholic principles and political rights find protection and interpretation within the Church itself."[8]

Two conclusions follow from this statement: either there are several interchangeable Catholic worldviews, or the Center does not care about papal views when it comes to political and material benefits - since the first is unacceptable to Catholics, they must resolve to accept the second case, which casts the Center Party leaders—who were, after all, loyal comrades of Matthias Erzberger and still praise him today—in a very clear light.
The "Augsburger Postzeitung"—a leading Center Party newspaper in southern Germany and a fierce opponent of the German freedom movement—felt compelled to admit that "Neo-Paganism" (as National Socialism is now called by the truth fanatics of the Center Party) presents itself today as idealistic and heroic; it merely forgot to add that a large number of those who feel called to act as priests, teaching a kingdom not of this world, are increasingly being dragged down into the material realm by their political activities, and can no longer serve as the examples they ought to be; the people sense all this everywhere, and this is one reason why anti-religious criticism falls on fertile ground.
The task of the Center Party prelates does not consist in making lip service to Catholicism at public gatherings, only to share political spoils with their atheist Marxist coalition partners immediately afterward, but rather in leaving the political arena and once again becoming what they were ordained to be: spiritual shepherds.
Today, the nation needs comforters of the human soul more than ever, but it must be noted here that the hate-filled spirit of the Center Party has penetrated even those circles that do not outwardly engage in politics - it can happen, for example, that a Bavarian priest openly slanders Adolf Hitler from the pulpit,

[8] Of interest in this context is the assessment by the Roman correspondence "Veritas" (No. 3, January 17th, 1931), published by a personal friend of Pope Pius X - it states literally: *"The political hucksters (brocanteurs) from Catholicism—Sturze, Sangnier, Strathmann with their hordes (bandes), the German Center Party, the related Bavarian People's Party, and whatever else they may be called (tutti quanti)—no longer set any limits on their unscrupulous dealings. There is a member of the Bavarian People's Party, Martin Loibl, who published an advertisement in his local party organ, the "Neuburger Anzeigeblatt," about a Communist meeting; it reads verbatim: 'Communist Party of Germany, local group …, speaker...' - but what exactly are the good pastors, the protectors and promoters of the party, doing? Are they saying nothing? Are they hypnotized, or are they traitors?"*

claiming that he spat out a host; prosecuted and found guilty of slander, the pastor was nevertheless acquitted - there is thus freedom from slander for Center Party pastors!
In the confessional, penitents are forbidden, under threat of severe punishment and the torments of Hell, from attending National Socialist rallies or reading the "Völkischer Beobachter"; women are told they must refuse their husbands marital duties if the latter do not vote for the Center Party, etc. All of this—combined with appalling harassment of clergy who do not campaign for the Center Party—outrages the right-thinking people, who increasingly see the pastor disappearing and the narrow-minded Center Party agitator taking his place.

The conflict between Fascism and Catholic Action that erupted in 1931 brought about a particularly notable clarification - on the basis of the most embarrassing revelations, Catholic Action was accused of having smuggled anti-Fascist leaders—comrades of Don Sturzo—into its leadership and of having organized a conspiracy against the Italian state system; a bitter press feud ensued, and negotiations began that led to a settlement in September 1931.
The new agreement between the Italian government and the Vatican regarding Catholic Action bears all the hallmarks of a fierce struggle on both sides for every inch of the desired advantages; neither partner, however, wanted to let the matter come to a rupture, and in the final protocol, both refrained from any dogmatic definition of their differing views on educational issues concerning Italian youth.
In practice, however, it turns out that the Vatican had to yield almost everywhere, while Mussolini fully conceded the religious activities of Catholic Action—as had been the case previously: by the very fact that the Vatican has renounced the social organizations of Catholic Action, and even sporting activities, it has—in the first instance—surrendered its claimed right to social influence and left the field entirely to Fascism; this further admits that, contrary to the claims of the "Osservatore Romano," the realm of state politics had indeed been addressed in the past, which is now quite unambiguously ruled out.
It is then explicitly stated that Catholic Action is exclusively of a diocesan nature, has no laypeople in its leadership, and that only clergy who are not opponents of Fascism may serve as leaders - in this way, beyond clearly limiting the activities of Catholic Action, the state has secured a veto against any attempts to smuggle supporters of Don Sturzo (a member of the Italian Center Party!) into the leadership of Catholic Action, even after the new agreement; this point compels the Vatican to purge the leadership of Catholic Action, a process that will undoubtedly be closely monitored by the government.
The new agreement also strips Catholic Action of all its symbolism, with the only flag that the associations are permitted to carry alongside purely religious symbols is the Italian national flag; this point is not insignificant, for if the supporters of Catholic Action march under the same flag that the Fascists carry, this creates a conciliatory element—in favor of the state.
All these stipulations are of interest beyond Italy's borders because they possess a programmatic content even without fundamental disputes - the agreement represents a further clarification of the relationship between the nation-state and the Roman Church amidst the circumstances of the 20th century, and whereas the Vatican once claimed global political dominance, later renounced politics pro forma, and then had to defend itself against accusations of having encroached on state politics at all, it now recognizes as necessary for state peace that the associations under its authority may be only ecclesiastical-religious, not even social-organizational, and even then may be led only by people against whom there is no objection from the standpoint of the nationalism ruling the state.
It is clear that Mussolini would not have achieved all these concessions if the Vatican, in the face of the "Spanish" language regarding the conspiracy of its high-ranking dignitaries against Fascism, had not

feared that a failure of the negotiations might trigger a struggle which, given the conditions on the Iberian Peninsula, would lead to even greater losses—at the very least in terms of prestige.
Mussolini, for his part, having weighed the matter wisely and also in the interest of his state's freedom of movement abroad, had halted the press campaign against the Vatican, thereby keeping open the possibility of a peaceful settlement; he refrained from any humiliating rebuke and, by emphasizing the desirability of a religious education provided by the Church—to which nearly the entire Italian people profess allegiance—mitigated the appearance of a retreat on the part of the Vatican.
When the Fascist press declared that Peter had received what was due to him and Caesar what he was entitled to, this was an entirely Christian and correct interpretation; it follows that this increasingly clear separation must also take effect in other states, for then there would be no "Kulturkampf", religious freedom of conscience would be safeguarded for all religious communities, and the state would truly be the organized community of the people for the defense of the rights and future of the entire people, regardless of whatever metaphysical or philosophical ideas may dominate the individual.

A revival in religious life will not occur until priests in Germany have returned to their proper office and submit to the decrees and agreements of their church leader.
The same naturally applies to the Protestants as well - the most beautiful cultural flowering of Protestantism was undoubtedly the Protestant parsonage in small towns and villages, and here, too, the cosmopolitan city has intervened in a nerve-wracking manner and awakened ambitions that had otherwise directed energies toward purely pastoral care; here, too, the clergyman, as long as he acts as such, should disappear from the parliamentary rostrum and refrain from participating in political public assemblies.
We do not intend to restrict the vitality of either the Protestant or the Catholic clergy, but from the pulpit, and in the manner required by their office intended for all, they should address matters of the general national, the general social, and the general cultural (at most, also at large national rallies) - here lie the great opportunities for impact, and here alone are the levers for deepening and renewing religious life.
It is just as unnatural for a pastor to become a parliamentarian as it would be for a statesman to sit in the confessional - in the organically grounded separation of spheres of activity lies the first prerequisite for a new, spiritually healthy cellular structure of Germany, and a vast amount of misunderstanding and strife would then not arise at all.
The state philosophy of National Socialism could therefore, in itself, only be welcomed by a truly religious sentiment, and the conflict arises solely because churches—especially the unified, internationally organic Roman Catholic Church—expand the realm of the religious to such an extent that they seek to encompass all social matters, and thereby also political ones - National Socialism cannot change this attitude of a hierarchical center located outside Germany, for its state duty therefore consists solely in ensuring, through treaties with the churches, that the entire state administration remains unaffected by special ecclesiastical influences as well as by class and estate interests; it must not, out of foreign policy expediency, grant the one-third of Catholics more rights than the two-thirds of Protestants, and moreover, it must completely overcome the talk of "parity" in the distribution of offices.
A demand for political appointments based on religious affiliation amounts to fostering corruption of the spirit and of state administration; in the future, the state must grant office only on the basis of merit in the service of the entire people, for even if human failings can never be entirely avoided on this earth, the striving to uphold this principle is the only thing capable of guaranteeing the highest degree of justice and of spurring on the individual's justified drive for progress.

The National Socialist state is fundamentally prepared to conclude agreements with religious communities, and the representatives of the Protestant and Catholic churches stand on an equal footing with it, although the state must reserve the final say in the appointment of important offices as its self-evident right; if it is not possible to reach an agreement, the coming Reich will have to regulate the relationship between the state and the churches on its own initiative in the spirit of complete religious tolerance—indeed, the promotion of religious life—while eliminating any possibility of interference by representatives of religious denominations in political life.

From this clear perspective, the Vatican may one day also deem it more expedient to reach firm agreements, for the days are past—despite the great power achieved in many places—when a church believed it could dictate its laws to states; the tensions between the Vatican and Fascism in 1931, the events in Catholic Spain, and the stance even of little Lithuania toward the Vatican, the national-Catholic tendencies among the Czechs, etc., are all symptoms of a radical nationalist shift in the national psyche - if the Roman Church takes a stance such as that expressed in the appeals of Cardinals Faulhaber and Bertram against German nationalism, then national-Catholic Germany, too, will have an understanding for the security of the state, upon whose strength its own political and economic fate depends.

The solution to the Church-State problem is therefore not viewed dogmatically by National Socialism, but will be resolved according to the circumstances of the future; anyone of good will who is willing to give the people what they need for the struggle for their self-assertion in this world can live in peace with the National Socialist state, and anyone who does not want this must then also bear the consequences.

The Rebirth of Civilization

Just as in matters of religion, the NSDAP cannot, beyond certain fundamental principles, oblige any of its members to adhere to a creed defined in every detail regarding cultural issues, for art, philosophy, scientific convictions and so on; indeed, they must be governed by very different temperaments, and often it is precisely in the subjective exclusivity with which an artist defends his view or a scholar his theory that the most valuable creative force is embodied.
Regardless of this, however, cultural policy is one of the most important areas awaiting National Socialism, today as a political movement, and tomorrow as the foundation of the state and the Reich government, for all racial improvements through eugenics and racial hygiene amount to only half the work if they are not accompanied by a parallel hygiene of the soul, where all the powers of the soul and spirit, revitalizing stagnant life, bring about a genuine, living rebirth.

While fully acknowledging the most personal cultural convictions, we may now say the following, looking both backward and forward:
Germany's political and economic collapse was more than merely an external event: it was, in essence, a parable of an inner lack of faith in the value of Germanness and the cause it championed; the aimlessness of German politics therefore appears as a sign of a lack of a popular, state, and cultural ideal, and isolation, abandonment, inner division, and hopelessness are therefore the hallmarks of many Germans concerned for the spiritual and intellectual well-being of their people.
The overwhelming majority of those who were called upon to defend the German spiritual heritage and creatively carry it forward into the future pursued two phantoms in the process: the ego and so-called humanity; the fact that the blood-bound national identity lay between these ideas was often accepted almost with shame as a necessary evil, not as the eternal source of all creativity.
Today, all opposing forces have so far triumphed—those who, without any sense of national identity, advocate politically for a world republic (or Pan-Europe) and, in terms of culture, seek to create a "humanity culture" not rooted in any particular soil; the individual is thus also regarded, in cultural terms, as having no connection whatsoever to race, people, state, language, and history, and is theoretically merged with hundreds of millions of individuals from other peoples, states, and continents...
Just as today's international economic system places the idea of naked profit at the center of all its endeavors, so too is this the true driving force behind the preaching of humanity's unbridled selfishness—a doctrine intended to enable the individual to organize his life and his work in the service of culture without any obligation toward people or state.
To cast a veiling cloak over this naked worship of materialism, one speaks of a duty toward so-called humanity, which, however, in the absence of a truly existing, tangible entity, must remain nothing but an empty phrase; in the face of this now almost all-powerful current, however, the realization is gradually growing that the complete triumph of the international idea in its various forms will not result in a harmonious humanity, nor in a "culture of humanity," but rather in chaos in all spheres of life.
The signs of the times cry this out to us daily - in all nations, therefore, forces are finally awakening to create a counterweight; we see, for example, in many places in Germany, independently of one another, this organic creative will preparing itself for spiritual rebellion - it is our firm belief that this resistance against the forces of chaos, the growing awareness of the primal value of blood-bound ethnicity, and of national and social solidarity, will one day grow into a mythical force.

This belief gives us—despite everything—courage; to give the still scattered, struggling forces their substance, purpose, form, and driving force is therefore the great task of the present for the salvation of our spiritual and mental future.

Today, from the depths of the cosmopolitan cities that plague us all, the subhuman has risen; millions of wretchedly uprooted souls have been cast upon the asphalt, deprived of space, denationalized, directionless, and at the mercy of every dazzling demagogue who today dares to present mulatto and Negro culture in the so-called world press as the highest achievements of the present age; they are the architects of decline in the same way as the international Hellenists were in declining Greece, and as the Syrian-African pacifist salons were in declining Rome.
However distinct the various cultures may have been in their particular character, the essence of the civilization of the Germanic West is revealed by a phrase from Fichte:

"True culture is a culture of the mind."

This reveals the actual driving force behind all our cultural creations, for it is precisely in values or convictions that all social prerequisites for cultural creativity are founded; they are also the driving motive behind the Germanic way of life and the former Germanic sense of justice.
No one perceives this fact more clearly than the natural enemy of a culture of our own kind: the aforementioned, now concentrated dregs of the world's cities, and the intellectual and non-intellectual subhumanity prevailing there under Jewish leadership, which today influences and commands armies of millions, has in some places already set these armies on the attack, and they work day by day to bring this about everywhere - this struggle against all the values of European civilization, but particularly against the Germanic character, is somewhat concealed in the political arena, since here "social demands" still allow for a whitewashing of actual destructive intentions, and even purely political endeavors can still claim a certain "sense of objectivity," since one can sometimes seemingly justifiably disagree regarding certain expedient measures to secure political existence; however, this immense destructive fury is revealed in all its nakedness across the entire realm of civilization, and can be demonstrated simultaneously in all areas in a form that is downright terrifyingly clear: in short, it is the instinctive—and for the most part also conscious—struggle to overthrow all those values that defined Germanic culture through all other social and political collapses.
Every German engaged in active life knows how far the stifling of German intellectual freedom and the disintegration of all cultural foundations have already progressed, yet all too often, he believes that the suffocating economic terror is at work only in his own profession - in reality, this is the case in every sphere, and the situation is oppressively grave; precisely for this reason, however, it makes a resolute uprising a duty, in order to reclaim the German spirit's rightful dominion in its own house and to create space for the fermenting forces of the maturing generation, which from its earliest youth is being poisoned more than its parents were; certain events of recent years should have shaken every active mind to its core.

We ourselves are primarily to blame for this - but this guilt demands atonement.
We atone for this guilt passively through today's intellectual misery, as scholars at universities are stripped of their teaching rights because the currently ruling powers demand it, while men from the German student body are forced upon them who revile German frontline soldiers and German leaders in

difficult times; we atone when German artists are systematically sidelined today in favor of exotic sensationalists; we atone by the fact that German poets go hungry, unable to reach their people at all, because a non-German theater rises between them and an international press ring paralyzes the most valuable forces through a policy of silence; we atone by allowing our legal system to be corrupted and every belief in justice to fade - this atonement is deserved, and things will never change unless the bearers of the German spirit, in all strata of society, rise up in active resistance to fight for intellectual and creative freedom.

One can certainly understand why, in view of the current conditions, many of the best wish to withdraw quietly and in despair to their own creative work; however, quite apart from the fact that very few can actually carry this out, while the others must serve their enemies, it is precisely this isolation of all that is valuable, so valuable that the united forces of the subhuman seek to bring about, in the full realization that achieving this self-exclusion from active life amounts to the abandonment of all self-assertion; this isolation of the German cultural creator is surely one of the deepest causes that helped bring about the present state of affairs.

A great calamity cannot be overcome by piecemeal and isolated repairs to partial damages, but only when a new, organically rooted holistic of life takes up the struggle, and in doing so calls upon those "thousand hands" as collaborators, without whom even the most beautiful ideas cannot be realized - that is to say, that the national intelligentsia must courageously step forward before its people, from whom it had once alienated itself.

The essence of genuine, active atonement thus lies in defense, in embracing the authentic tradition, in re-creation from the eternal values of the people, and in protecting these emerging forces; to this end, all work must begin with oral and written enlightenment regarding actual conditions, in order to overcome the alarming lack of insight, and then to awaken the feeling and the will to resist not just all agents of decay, but also one's own guilt and weakness; finally, a forum must be created for all these manifold, blood-bound German forces in every sphere of life.

In 1808, Baron vom Stein wrote to the Prussian king:

"But if a firm resolution is made, then remove all friends of tranquility, lest everything be paralyzed and hindered in its progressive movement."

Such a resolution also embodies the spiritual turning point of our time - if it is not made, all "Germanness" remains an empty lip service, uttered only to avoid betraying a faint-hearted and cowardly spirit.

National Socialism must proceed from this understanding of the overall situation, therefore promoting everything in the cultural sphere that serves these insights, and combating everything that has, directly or indirectly, placed itself in servitude to the anti-German forces.

Engaged in the decisive political power struggle, the NSDAP did not initially have the opportunity to divert its available resources toward uniting the German cultural forces, and it also distanced itself from this as a whole later on, because in the meantime (1929) an organization had been founded whose aspirations National Socialism could trust: the "Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur e. V.", based in Munich[9]. This association has proclaimed its goal as follows:

[9] Its national office is located in Munich, Barerstr. 50, telephone 26 7 58, postal check account Munich 16 4 81.

"The 'Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur' aims to defend the essence of the German people amidst today's cultural decline, and to promote every authentic expression of German cultural life: the Kampfbund sees its goal as enlightening the German people about the connections between race, art, and science, as well as moral and volitional values; it aims to introduce the public to significant Germans—whose work is today "silenced"—through word and writing, and thus to serve the cultural unity of all Germans without regard to political borders; finally, it sets itself the goal of creating, through the gathering of all forces that share these aspirations, the conditions for an education in schools and universities that recognizes national character as the foremost value, and in particular, it sets itself the goal of awakening in the younger generation of all social classes an understanding of the nature and necessity of the struggle for the nation's cultural and moral values, and of strengthening the will for this struggle for German freedom."

The artist and scholar is usually "apolitical", and this is understandable to a certain extent, since the individual's creative power springs from his solitude; nonetheless, he should and must feel inspired by the genius of his people, of his blood, and must therefore sharply distinguish himself from those who deny this blood and strive to corrupt and poison it.
The "Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur" has taken this step, which determines everything else; a large number of German creative forces have placed themselves at its disposal, and thus the emerging departments of the NSDAP for culture and race can cooperate with it.
We know all too well today how closely power and culture are intertwined; therefore, we also know that cultural liberation is possible only through the removal of today's rulers, who, as protectors of the Gumbels[10] and Lessings[11], promote anti-German barbarism through political means, exerting a terrible, soul-destroying effect - we therefore regard it as the most important task of every German cultural association to get to know, gather, and give hope to the truly race-conscious creators in all fields without any pettiness, to free them from the feeling of abandonment—all with the goal that a future German ruler will know whom to place in the positions currently held by those who abuse the German soul at universities, academies, on judges' benches, etc.

As a political combat organization, National Socialism has set its sights in the realm of cultural policy on the very center of the work of spiritual contamination: the press (Point 23); here it is demanded that all editors must be members of the people's community, that non-German newspapers require state approval to be published, and that financial influence over German newspapers be made impossible; furthermore, it states:

"We demand a legal struggle against an artistic and literary movement that exerts a corrosive influence on our national life, and the closure of events that violate the aforementioned requirements."

This outlines the major task, insofar as it is solely a matter for the state, since the state, if it does not wish to stifle living life, can in cultural matters be predominantly only preventive and boundary-setting; creativity is and always remains the sole domain of the individual.

---

[10] Emil Gumbel, Jewish intellectual who was a vocal critic of the far-right in the Weimar Republic. - The Translator
[11] Theodor Lessing, Jewish philosopher who supported Zionism and argued that "history, having no objective validity, amounts to a mythic construct…" (quoting Theodore Ziolkowski) - The Translator

It remains, however, of decisive importance that the state leadership consists of culturally creative individuals who are connected by their art, and not international Marxists, ossified bureaucrats or hypocritical bigwigs; it is therefore not commandments and prohibitions that stand at the center of our actions, but the human being.

If racial hygiene, combined with racial degeneration, is to create the physical prerequisites for all recovery, then the educational system must immediately address the mind and soul of the German child, and on this point the NSDAP finds itself in fierce conflict with the old powers.
If we acknowledge that it is character that sustains the state and society, then the education of the future German man will mean, first and foremost, the formation of character - in this way, National Socialism fundamentally differs from an intellectual trend of the last hundred years that placed the emphasis on knowledge, for this intellectualization had increasingly encased natural instinct, fostering a culture of "experts" that lacked a living, blood-bound center; that is why there was so much "objectivity" in Germany and so little passionate advocacy for the people as a whole; that is also why the German nation still produces the greatest aircraft builders, ingeniously designed airships, the finest giant steamships, and so many outstanding "legal scholars," yet so few statesmen - ultimately, this is why the great political phenomenon of Adolf Hitler was therefore—viewed from the highest perspective—a literal rescue of character at the eleventh hour, undertaken by the German national soul.
Since then, National Socialism has become the greatest educator of the people that Germany has been able to record since Old Fritz and the men of 1813: it has made millions of people aware of the essence of the struggle in this world; it has awakened the greatness of Germanic blood in millions more, and in short, it has restored to the German nation—to its inventors and artists, its technicians and soldiers—its "center of bliss" (Herder), and has given meaning to all its endeavors once again.
If this great deed is to continue to shape new generations, rather than fade away after a great outburst and then be forgotten, the National Socialist People's State must demand one thing: the school!
All those powers that have ruled until now—and to whose rule Germany owes its moral and then political decline—will rise up bitterly against this demand, with one group among them in particular—the Center Party and large sections of orthodox Protestantism—ultimately demanding church schools; this is initially still called a denominational school, but what is meant by it is the imposition of religious doctrine down to the level of natural science and—calligraphy.
A clear separation is required here - as explained, religion is an innermost matter of conscience concerning metaphysical matters, over which no state is authorized to decide through coercive measures, or even mere attempts at command; therefore, only the parents are to judge in what form a child is to be taught religion, and since religious beliefs are, after all, diverse, denominationally separate religious instruction is also to be advocated from the National Socialist standpoint, provided, however, that nothing may be undertaken that violates national consciousness.
In all other subjects, however, the school's task is not to send Lutherans, Catholics, members of the German Church, Reformed Protestants, etc., out into life, but rather Germans who are conscious of their people and their state; promoting purely denominational influence (ecclesiastical supervision, especially in rural areas!) would make the religious division of the people even more pronounced and sow the seeds for future, entirely unforeseeable disputes.
The term "simultaneous school," which is set in opposition to denominational schools, bears all the hallmarks of purely liberalist thinking, which focuses only on the superficial and schematic - what is to be taken from the intellectual counterpart to the denominational school and the simultaneous school is to be

given to the German national school, which does not encompass a part but directs its gaze toward the whole; the coexistence of Protestants, Catholics, etc., will therefore form a self-evident prerequisite for all other school types that might otherwise still be structured differently.
This gives rise to the task of rewriting history - it must not bear the stamp of Catholic or Protestant dogma, but will proceed from the fact of blood, the diversity of races and racial souls; it will depict the struggle of the Nordic blood in Greece and Rome, the Germanic essence in its manifestation, its strengths and weaknesses; this historical perspective will derive its standard of evaluation from whether a personality, a historical phenomenon as a whole, or an intellectual current has purified and strengthened or weakened the German essence.
National Socialism will gratefully acknowledge all previous work in this field (Lagarde, Ranke, Treitschke, Wagner, Chamberlain, Krieck, Günther) and will always be on the lookout for great educators of the people, so that their work does not remain mere words or literature, but becomes a vibrant reality.
The National Socialist Teachers' League is working comprehensively to address all these issues, and the final programmatic elaboration of all principles will be the task of all the educational forces within this organization.[12]

The same applies to the legal system, as Point 14 of our program demands, in the form of a thesis, the fundamental replacement of the current Jewish-Roman legal system with a German common law.
In the matter of shaping such a law, too, certain differences regarding details will have to be overcome, but one thing stands out for us as paramount: that the coming German law will, above all, be a code of duties.
The liberalist generation, which was disintegrating, did not proceed from the law of the whole—which, after all, is what first enables the individual's civic existence and the protection of that existence—but shifted the emphasis of the legal concept catastrophically to this individual; although the organically grown bonds of a healthier past still held — within the military and the civil service — and cultural tradition still forged souls together, nevertheless, just as in the political sphere through unprincipled democracy, so in the legal realm the individual was, as it were, declared legally self-sovereign, and virtually all objects with which he had to do were degraded to commodities.
"Every owner of a thing may dispose of it as he pleases," reads a notorious paragraph of the Civil Code (§ 903) - this is the reversal of the old German legal maxim that the common good takes precedence over self-interest, a maxim that, particularly emphasized, can be found in the program of the NSDAP, specifically in Point 24, which defines the movement's religious stance; indeed, the value of genuine religious sentiment is rooted in this inner attitude toward the question of law and the question of duty, and it leads quite directly to Immanuel Kant's magnificently simple formula:

"Morality is not actually the doctrine of how we make ourselves happy, but rather of how we are to become worthy of happiness."

This inner pride rises above the "right" of the self to serve in the pursuit of a sublime idea, and only in this way elevates the person to a personality; even if every individual may sin against this principle countless times in their own life, the fact that they recognize it as legitimate for themselves and the state—that alone gives the community style, character, and stability, and makes atonement and eradication on the part of

[12] Munich office, Briennerstr. 45.

this community appear as necessary consequences of actions that impair or destroy the freedom of this community.
Under individualistic law, however, every profiteer regards prosecutors and judges merely as troublemakers in his “deeply justified” work of amassing wealth, even if it means stepping over dead bodies - one step further, and one arrives at the Social Democratic thesis that everyone must also have the “right” to treason, and that this should therefore not be punished. (In the press of the Marxist school of thought, essays may already appear with impunity in which the author promises to denounce to foreign powers any armaments of Germany of which he is aware.)

This expression of opinion leads directly to the contested concept of property, for what Marxism does in this and other cases is a brutal attack on the people’s property, which consists of national freedom, state sovereignty, and the ability to both defend the nation’s territory and represent its moral and material interests throughout the world; there is, therefore, a sacred property in the highest sense that stands above all individual interests, to which everything else must be subordinated as a function of this overarching idea!
From this standpoint, the following is a given for National Socialism: it recognizes lawfully acquired property in all areas, for an invention, a literary work, is property, just as is the money saved by a common man through honest daily labor; however, if a self-serving genius seeks to exploit an invention against the interests of the people as a whole, then the people as a whole must render this action just as harmful as a drama—no matter how skillfully written—that promotes treason, or a form of speculation that is harmful to the people using money that was itself honestly earned.
Where the concept of private property is restricted here, it will depend on the strictness of the conception of the common good, the common good again understood here in the highest sense as the sum of the moral character values of the German nation as a whole - to put it graphically, today’s “businessman” can wander for miles before he encounters the criminal court judge—if he encounters him at all; but tomorrow, when the National Socialist state has overcome the current interregnum, this man will see the state prosecutor before him after just a few steps down the street - anyone who opposes this conception of private property thereby proves only that German concepts of honor and duty have been extinguished within him, and Jewish ones have taken their place.

The NSDAP takes an even stronger stance on the question of private property when it comes to the ownership of land - this is by no means to be regarded as a commodity, nor is it the result of human invention or productive labor, but rather a piece of the cosmos, a prerequisite for the existence of the entire people, which has been defended with their blood at the country’s borders for generations.
The National Socialist Gregor Strasser once beautifully articulated this relationship: if the propertyless worker, student, artist, scholar—indeed, the urban dweller—defends with his very body the soil of the farmer, the landowner, then he has the right to ensure that this defended land does not fall into disrepair, lie fallow, or even be sold off to hostile foreigners.
The farmer feeds the people; the farmer is thus the prerequisite for everything in the life of the nation, and this nation, organized as a state, protects the freedom and the fruits of his labor - therefore, land is not a commodity, and it must not be an object of speculation; indeed, the true people’s state must reserve the right not only to convert private property into public ownership for necessary public purposes in exchange for appropriate compensation, but also—in cases of severe harm to the collective—to carry out expropriations without compensation.

All of this together constitutes the meaning of our deeply justified Point 17—which is for this very reason so fiercely opposed by the entire liberal world—and regarding which Adolf Hitler provided a brief explanation in 1928, which was supplemented in March 1930 by an agricultural program (see the Appendix).

Schools and the law are the great levers of state education; the press and literature (today also film and radio) are means of exerting influence on the general public, which must remain under its watchful supervision.
The clamour for "freedom of the press" is on the same level as demanding freedom to distribute not only healthy food, but also all poisons - Houston Stewart Chamberlain had already drawn the comparison that just as the state has established a market police to protect the people from harmful stimulants, so too must it guard against attempts to poison us spiritually.
Today's "state" has indeed introduced a protective law, but not to safeguard national honor or the spiritual health of the people, but rather to protect the current "form of government" and its deceased and living ministers (on the basis of this law, a Marxist chief magistrate even banned a newspaper because it had published a caricature of the Jewish Barmats); all the Eisners, Erzbergers, Hoefles, Bauers, Scheidemanns, Ebert, and thousands of other ministerial figures are thus protected by lèse-majesté laws, yet it is permitted and even popular to call Germania a whore (Tucholsky), or to portray the German People's Army as desecrators of the Eucharist and the altar, and the murderers of Belgians—a pastime that leaders of the Center Party, in particular, engage in with impunity (Pastor Föry, Dr. Mönius).
Incidentally, National Socialism is no friend of a police state in which the word "forbidden" appears everywhere; it firmly professes itself an opponent of a system in which police chiefs or vigilante groups rage against "immorality" or have the power to violently intervene in a form of artistic expression - we do, however, advocate the formation of a Cultural Council within the National Socialist Order (or Senate), consisting of irreproachable, sensitive individuals who are given the opportunity to publicize the general cultural views of National Socialism in the press, on the radio, etc., but who should also not prevent struggling artists in all fields from expressing their ideas.
Here, National Socialism's confidence in German vitality comes into play - once the people have been cleansed through the elimination of racial enemies, and once these opponents of a German rebirth have been deprived of the means to tempt the soul, the hypnosis induced by "world newspapers," Jewish cinemas, and bastardized radio broadcasts will gradually give way, and an unbiased judgment will return, which will go hand in hand with a general restoration of public life.[13]
What forms our cultural work in the theater, the visual arts, poetry, etc., will take, we leave to the future - today we focus only on those people who must one day be driven out of the sacred halls of German education and legal life, from artistic director positions and academies, and we take note of those who have bestowed German values upon us, or who, as a younger generation, are noticeably striving to shape these values.
Once this is done—let the field be open to the healthy, creative German.

[13] I have provided a more detailed explanation of the nature of Germanic art in the second volume of my "Myth of the 20th Century".

Symbols of Life

Human beings cannot grasp and represent the world and life in their immediacy, for the essence of life is its uninterrupted activity, whereas the essence of the human mind and consciousness is the interrupted, the intermittent - without this mental rhythm, not a single work of art would exist, not a single structured thought of science would exist, and not a single heroic deed would be possible; this profound difference between the uninterrupted, flowing, organic process of life and the nature of our cognitive faculties thus compels us to distinguish even further and to bring to our consciousness those forms through which humans appropriate the world, subjugate it, or serve it.
Intuition has an effect that is immediately convincing or provokes negation; we can only gain insight into the problem at hand through a rational framework, though humanity is ultimately driven by the spur of the will.

Intuition, working according to its eternal laws, always employs symbols - anyone who has ever stood in the Potsdam Garrison Church at the graves of Frederick the Great and Frederick William I, anyone who has consciously gazed upon the old, tattered Prussian flags on the walls, see in these symbolic flags and cloths an entire world—the greatest epochs of German history, the greatest parables of German strength and German spirit of sacrifice.
It is also a new symbol, that of the National Socialist movement, which is carried today, repeated in endless numbers through the streets of German villages and cities - this symbol shows us directly, in color and design, what we recognize theoretically and desire inwardly.
Day by day, month by month, year by year, ever new thoughts, ever new values, and ever new sacrifices gather around this symbol - thus, not only does the new flag itself become a symbol, but also the men who carry these flags, for only those who are guided by the great values of Germanhood and have the courage to represent them outwardly can truly embrace this new symbol in their hearts.
Here already we can discern a mystical harmony between these character values and ideals and the immediate perception, namely in that the average of every humanity fighting alongside us on the front also recognizes a racial ideal, as unburdened times once proclaimed through their art; it is a racial ideal that links the great female figures of the Parthenon pediment in Athens just as closely to the figure of Gudrun and Goethe's Dorothea as the Greek male figures are linked to the Germanic ideal of beauty, even in our own day.
A flag, a symbol, becomes all the more sacred the longer it has been fought under; it embodies the immutability of an idea, no matter how many thousands of diverse people may have clenched their fists around the flagstaff.
I regard it, alongside the ingeniously simple expression of the thought of our time, as Adolf Hitler's greatest achievement: to have given National Socialism a banner that directly and vividly symbolizes the greatness of the Germanic spirit and, as it were, absorbs and carries forward all the sacrifices and victories for the idea - while the black, white, and red colors recall those flags under which Germany of 1914 marched into the holy war to protect its people and homeland from the stranglehold of the eternal enemy in the West, the swastika, however, suddenly leaps across centuries and millennia, pointing to the sources of that power from which German creative deeds once sprang.
In times when this symbol, as a sign of Nordic blood, spread throughout the world, it became a symbol of fertility and rising life; admittedly, while this symbol dates back to "pagan" times, National Socialism has no intention of cowardly denying the unity of the Germanic essence and, for example, beginning German

history with Charlemagne, for while many valuable things may have flowed into the Germanic essence from outside later on, the core of all possibilities was already present when the Germanic people first opened their eyes - the swastika is meant to symbolize this unity for us.

A fierce battle has been waged against this symbol by the dark forces of our time, namely, by the leaders of the Center Party (who constantly betray us to atheistic Marxism, to the Poles and the French); they have the audacity, in the name of Christianity, to slander this symbol, and to place us on the same level as the Ashanti Negroes.

Let us follow these gentlemen (whose essays appear throughout the Center's press) for a moment and apply the same line of reasoning to the Roman Church, which they claim to defend as 100 percent anti-pagan and Christian:

First, there is the Christmas celebration, which is an ancient Germanic festival of the winter solstice; likewise, the feast of John the Baptist is the pagan festival of the summer solstice; Constantine introduced Sunday and the Christmas festival as a worshipper of Helios, since they were Helios days, and for Easter, Christianity has not only borrowed the name of the Germanic spring goddess Ostara, but also her concept of resurrection from the winter night, as well as her symbol of the egg as a sign of fertility - if these gentlemen are fighting against Wotanism, they should at least truthfully explain that St. Oswald and St. Martin represent nothing other than two renamings of Wotan, to whom the same symbols—the cloak and the spear—were attributed.

What is telling in this entire untruthful campaign against the swastika is the attempt to portray it as a distortion of the Christian cross; this effort shows that the preachers of Christian churches do not possess even the slightest inkling of the origin of the symbol they wear on their chests their entire lives.

The swastika, a symbol that originated in the heart of Europe, is one of the many symbols of the heavens and the sun; the heavens and the sun were depicted as a circle, as a wagon wheel with spokes, as an isosceles cross, as a swastika. From the center of Europe, the latter symbol migrated to Greece, where Schliemann found it in Troy (in the settlement dating to 2500 B.C.); from there, it spread with Nordic hordes as a sign of organically awakening life to India, where it first appeared around 500 B.C. and later became the second holiest symbol of Buddha; with Buddhism, the swastika came to China, where it is regarded (when drawn inside a circle) as a symbol of infinity, while in another direction, Germanic peoples carried the symbol to England, and Nordic elements to Rome; in the catacombs, we find the swastika alongside the so-called Christian cross, which had the same origin and the same meaning.

The Christian cross as a symbol of the Roman martyr's stake was completely unknown for over 200 years; indeed, Minutius Felix was still railing against the pagan "Christian" cross in the 3rd century, until it became impossible to continue fighting against this symbol, and the martyr's stake of Christ (which was T-shaped rather than cross-shaped) was designated as the indestructible symbol.

Alongside the "Christian" cross, the swastika then appeared until the 16th century on bishop's miters, coins, altar cloths, on cathedrals, and even to this day in Catholic prayer books (the Beuron Benedictine Prayer Book); even in St. Martin's Church in Trier, built in 1912, it is carved in stone on the communion rail, and can be found in the window design of the church's main façade - but when the German freedom movement upholds the ancient Germanic symbol in its original sense as a commitment to creative action, to the protection of blood and people, a hypocritical press rages about "paganism."

We ask, conversely: is it Christian when the "Catholic" Center of the atheist Social Democratic Party surrenders all power in Prussia; is it Christian when the Center puts forward the chairman of the Jewish

Community of Berlin, the Zionist Kareski, as a candidate for the Reichstag; is it Christian when international godless conferences can take place in Berlin under the eyes of the Center ministers?
That would be quite a fine Christianity indeed, if one had the nerve to proclaim this as Christian politics!
And yet—it is happening.
Alongside this, however, there is a German awakening that yearns once more for integrity and honor - for that reason, and that reason alone, the Center's struggle against us rages as never before; but despite this, even this campaign of obfuscation will one day come to an end, and our opponents will realize what a powerful force—the uniting of all conscious Germans—the swastika banner radiates, against which there is nothing left to oppose.
The swastika need not be hostile to the Christian cross at all; the NSDAP has never fought against the cross as such, and it has been reserved for the Center to denounce the "pagan symbol" from the very beginning, to deny and defile the bond of blood; this party is thus well on its way to falsifying the Christian cross into a symbol of racially chaotic sentiment, and it is not our fault if the church authorities do not defend themselves against this abuse of a universal religious symbol for unscrupulous party-political goals.
The Christian cross is a religious symbol, and the swastika is a racial-political battle symbol - thus, the difference (and complementarity) of both symbols for the NSDAP is clearly expressed to anyone who is still of good will.
When Catholic and Protestant SA men wished to visit the churches of their denominations with their banners, the priests would occasionally still let them in, but in the vast majority of cases they were turned away; in comparison, today the flag of the state bearing the Fascist symbol stands at the high altars of Italy's Catholic churches—undoubtedly also a "pagan" symbol from the era of pre-Christian Rome; the Italian Pope, however, had no further objection to this, nor to the playing of the royal anthem on the organs of Italy's churches.
What is right for one Catholic is fair for another - even if there is bitterness in Catholic circles in Germany directed against church authorities who vehemently rail against National Socialism and banish the symbol of German rebirth from houses of worship, this is the fault of the responsible church authorities.

Every expression of our life that seeks to convey something inner is, in the final analysis, symbolic; all letters, all words, an entire language is invented by a defined community, and its parables and symbols are recognized by it in order to create a purely symbolic link that mediates between the inner world—which in no way corresponds to the outer world—and the outer world; sound also belongs to this, but above all color, line, and drawing.
However refined and multifaceted the instrument of language and writing may be, the eye remains the most immediate tool with which we touch and comprehend the external world; a symbol of the eye will therefore always be stronger than a consciousness of rational agreement, because a symbol of light leads directly from the eye to the mind, to the will - as long as this is the case, the soul is still healthy.

***

At the time these lines are being written, the NSDAP counts 200 men who have sealed their loyalty to the coming Reich with their lives; they did not fall in open, large-scale frontal battles, but while serving the movement, they were ambushed from behind by the Rotfront, the Reichsbanner (and also recently also by the "Kreuzschar" of the Center), and stabbed, shot, or trampled to death: they were shot off their bicycles

as they rode home from meetings; they were sought out in their apartments, had their eyes gouged out (Pg. Senft), and were murdered.
The red murder press published the names and addresses of our SA and SS men to incite the criminal underworld—and so they all died: Kütemeier, Hirschmann, Wessel, Thielsch, Vobis, Steinbach, Garthe... Mostly poor workers who had committed only one crime: loving Germany more than themselves.
And alongside these dead, over 8,000 SA and SS men bear the wounds of the terrible civil war on their bodies—wounds sustained in the countless raids raging across Germany, without the bourgeois press taking note of them - we counted nearly 50 wounded daily in September 1931, yet the Jewish press in Berlin and Frankfurt only intensified its agitation.
Alongside the men, we commemorate the National Socialist women, to whom our ideology and the swastika symbol give the strength to send their husbands, sons, and brothers out every day without knowing if they will return; this quiet heroism, too, shows us that, having overcome the spirit of November 1918, we have once again entered a great heroic epoch of the German people - in the National Socialist movement, which is slandered by all "women's rights activists" as "misogynistic," the German woman has only now reawakened to her self-confidence; this great experience has also freed them from ridiculous barriers and lackeys, from the arrogant restriction of their personalities, but also from those literary ladies who today eke out their useless existence in parliamentary clubs as mere objects of ridicule. This great freedom of spirit has been restored by the NSDAP, and the German woman in our movement knows that German men are also fighting for her freedom and respect - the future will prove how much Germany will also need these National Socialist women.

And finally, a few examples that are symbols in themselves:

- In Tyrol, a Hitler Youth member was critically wounded in the head by a communist; the priest arrived to administer last rites but demanded that he renounce Hitler, and in response, the brave boy, struggling with death, refused... he later recovered and continues to fight today.

- In late 1930, SA member Friedrich Weinstein was attacked by communists and stabbed to death with knives; in the arms of his comrades, he uttered his last words: "Hitler, I gladly die for you... Mother, I am dying."

- In June 1931, during our Saxon Gau Party Congress in Chemnitz, Pg. Edgar Steinbach was shot dead by communists, and Pg. Heinrich Gutsche was mortally wounded; Adolf Hitler visited the wounded man, and when he caught sight of the Führer, he once more raised his riddled body and raised his hand in a final salute, stammering "Heil Hitler"—and died.

- In June 1931, an S.A. group in Bremen was attacked by a superior force of Communists; the SA retreated, defending their flag, and in the process, the 31-year-old worker and SA member Gossel fell; his last wish was to be buried in his brown shirt.

- In August 1931, National Socialists returning home in Limbach (Saxony) were fired upon by Communists; Pg. Herbert Grobe, 23 years old, was fatally wounded, and his last words were that the Third Reich might soon be established.

All of these are testimonies to the Germanic-German spirit; they spring forth not only from the eternally loyal peasant soil, no—and this is the truly great thing—they emerge before us from poor, lightless, and airless workers' apartments - from the cosmopolitan city that kills nature and character come these stammering sounds of inestimable loyalty, that great sense of camaraderie that has come to life through the Führer and the flag; it is a shattering myth in our seemingly mythless, essence-less, and hostile-to-all-that-is-noble age, and at the same time, this sacrifice for a future visible only in broad outlines is a pure example of religion.

Even religion, in the truest sense, is not the outward acknowledgment of any dogmas, ecclesiastical assertions, or traditional practices - in truth, wherever a human being bravely serves the highest values, there is God, and there the metaphysical has become action in man.

It need not be death that proves this, but rather life itself, even if death is what brings this lived religion to its fullest consciousness - those people who accompany a mass murderer (such as Kürten) as a penitent on his way to the scaffold with all the consolations of the Church, yet at the same time deny a church funeral to a devout, honorable man who acted selflessly for his people (such as the National Socialist Gemeinder, who died of heart failure after a meeting) because he had not "repented" of his service to his people in our camp—these people do not stand with God, but with the devil.

The struggle waged by the National Socialist movement is therefore more than mere ecclesiastical commonality, but it is religion in action, the metaphysics of deed, a source of new blessings, and an influx of new, higher values for the religious and ecclesiastical communities to which these National Socialists belong (Protestants, Catholics, members of the German Church, etc.); they should thank them, instead of—as often happens—slandering and persecuting them.

But be that as it may, the NSDAP does not wage its struggle on the basis of any ecclesiastical creeds, but in the arena of the power struggle against the forces of racial chaos, of the dishonorable, and of those who destroy the people - here the symbol of the swastika stands as the only real enemy today, facing the Soviet star, which is a symbol not only of Bolshevism alone, but also of all systems and people who have prepared and protected it spiritually and politically: liberalism, social democracy, and the Center.

The swastika, however, knows nothing of the pleasures and symbols of the complacent bourgeoisie of the past; it does not regard peace as greater than struggle, but rather values this very struggle as the creative birth of culture and true statehood.

Already bearing witness to this are those thousands who have bled, those hundreds of thousands who today stand daily on the front lines facing a snarling mob, knowing that treacherous cowards lie behind them - alongside the bronze letters of the leaders, these names are recorded in the book of German history.

I conclude with the words spoken by an S.A. leader at the grave of our murdered Düsseldorf SS. man, S. Vobis:

"Sleep well, comrade, in the dark earth! Soon brown battalions, with banners flying and with iron tread, will thunder over the graves, and, avenging you, will fight for the Reich for which you fell."

Appendix (Party Program and Agricultural Policy)[14]

The German Workers' Party's platform is a program for the times; its Führer refuses to set new goals once those outlined in the platform have been achieved, merely for the purpose of ensuring the party's continued existence by artificially stoking discontent among the masses.

1. *"We demand the unification of all Germans into a Greater Germany on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination."*

2. *"We demand equal rights for the German people vis-à-vis other nations, and the abolition of the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain."*

3. *"We demand land and soil (colonies) to feed our people and settle our surplus population."*

4. *"Only those who are members of the people can be citizens; only those who are of German blood, regardless of religion, can be members of the people - therefore, no Jew can be a member of the people."*

5. *"Those who are not citizens should only be allowed to live in Germany as guests, and must be subject to alien legislation."*

6. *"The right to determine the leadership and laws of the state must be reserved for citizens - we therefore demand that every public office, regardless of its nature, whether in the Reich, the state, or the municipality, may only be held by citizens; we oppose the corrupting parliamentary economy of filling positions solely on the basis of party considerations, without regard to character and abilities."*

7. *"We demand that the state commit itself first and foremost to providing for the livelihood and living conditions of its citizens; if it is not possible to feed the entire population of the state, then members of foreign nations (non-citizens) must be expelled from the Reich."*

8. *"Any further immigration of non-Germans must be prevented - we demand that all non-Germans who have immigrated to Germany since August 2nd, 1914, be forced to leave the Reich immediately."*

9. *"All citizens must have equal rights and duties."*

10. *"The first duty of every citizen must be to work mentally or physically; the activities of the individual must not violate the interests of the community, but must be carried out within the framework of the whole and for the benefit of all."*

11. *"The abolition of unearned income, and the breaking of the bondage of interest!"*

[14] Further explanations for the party programme of the NSDAP can be found in Alfred Rosenberg's book "Essence, Principles, and Goals of the NSDAP", which has also been translated into English by me and can be found on the Internet Archive. - The Translator

12. *"In view of the enormous sacrifices in property and blood that every war demands of the people, personal enrichment through war must be considered a crime against the people - we therefore demand the complete confiscation of all war profits."*

13. *"We demand the nationalization of all (previously) socialized enterprises (trusts)."*

14. *"We demand profit sharing in large companies."*

15. *"We demand a generous expansion of old-age provisions."*

16. *"We demand the creation and preservation of a healthy middle class, the immediate municipalization of large department stores and their rental at affordable prices to small businesses, and the most favorable consideration of all small businesses in deliveries to the state, the federal states, or municipalities."*

17. *"We demand a land reform adapted to our national needs - the creation of a law for the free expropriation of land for public purposes, the abolition of ground rent, and the prevention of all land speculation."*[15]

18. *"We demand a ruthless struggle against those who harm the common interest through their activities - common criminals, usurers, profiteers, etc. are to be punished with death, regardless of religion or race."*

19. *"We demand the replacement of Roman law, which serves the materialistic world order, with a German common law."*

20. *"In order to enable every capable and hard-working German to attain higher education, and thus enter into leading positions, the state must ensure the thorough expansion of our entire system of public education. The curricula of all educational institutions must be adapted to the requirements of practical life; the concept of the state must be instilled from the very beginning of schooling (civics). We demand that children of poor parents who are particularly gifted intellectually be educated at the expense of the state, regardless of their parents' social status or occupation."*

---

[15] On April 13th, 1928, Adolf Hitler issued the following statement regarding this agenda point:

Explanation

"In response to our opponents' mendacious interpretations of Point 17 of the NSDAP program, the following statement is necessary: Since the NSDAP is based on private property, it goes without saying that the passage 'free expropriation' refers only to the creation of legal possibilities to expropriate land that has been acquired unlawfully or is not managed in accordance with the interests of the people, if necessary - this is therefore directed primarily against Jewish real estate speculation companies."

- Adolf Hitler
Munich, April 13th, 1928

21. *"The state must ensure the improvement of public health by protecting mothers and children, by prohibiting child labor, by promoting physical fitness through the legal establishment of compulsory gymnastics and sports, and by providing the greatest possible support to all associations engaged in physical education for young people."*

22. *"We demand the abolition of mercenary troops and the formation of a people's army."*

23. *"We demand the legal fight against deliberate political lies and their dissemination by the press - in order to enable the creation of a German press, we demand that:*

a) All editors and employees of newspapers published in German must be members of the German people.
b) Non-German newspapers require the express permission of the state to be published; they may not be printed in German.
c) Any financial participation in German newspapers or their influence by non-Germans is prohibited by law, and we demand as punishment for violations the closure of such newspapers and the immediate expulsion of the non-Germans involved from the Reich.

Newspapers that violate the common good are to be banned - we demand legal action against any art or literature that has a corrosive influence on our national life, and the closure of events that violate the above demands."

24. *"We demand freedom of all religious denominations in the state, insofar as they do not endanger its existence or violate the moral and ethical sensibilities of the Germanic race.*
The party as such represents the standpoint of positive Christianity without binding itself to any particular denomination; it combats the Jewish-materialistic spirit within and outside our ranks, and is convinced that a lasting recovery of our people can only come about from within on the basis of a simple demand: the common good before self-interest."

25. *"To implement all of this, we demand the creation of a strong central authority for the Reich - an unconditional authority of the central political parliament over the entire Reich and its organizations in general, and the formation of chambers of estates and professions to implement the framework laws enacted by the Reich in the individual federal states."*

***

Party Rally (On Agricultural Policy)

Organizational Division II
Munich, March 1930

1. The Importance of the Rural Population and Agriculture to the German People

The German people cover a considerable part of their living expenses by importing foreign food - before the World War, we were able to pay for these imports with the proceeds from our industrial exports, our trade, and our capital invested abroad; the outcome of the World War has denied us this possibility. Today, we pay for our food imports mainly with borrowed foreign money; as a result, the German people are being led ever deeper into debt bondage to international high finance. If the current situation continues, this will increasingly dispossess the German people - by blocking credit and thus the supply of food, i.e., by raising the price of bread, it can force the German proletariat in particular to work for starvation wages, or to allow themselves to be shipped off as slave laborers to foreign colonies.
Freedom from this bondage is only possible if the German people can essentially feed themselves from their own land - increasing the productivity of domestic agriculture has therefore become a matter of life and death for the German people.
However, an economically healthy rural population with strong purchasing power is also of crucial importance for the sales of our industry, which in future will increasingly be dependent on the domestic market.
We not only recognize the paramount importance of the agricultural sector for our people, but also see the rural population as the main bearer of the nation's hereditary health, the fountain of youth of the people, and the backbone of military strength; the preservation of an efficient peasantry, which is numerically strong in relation to the growing total population, is a cornerstone of National Socialist policy, precisely because it is aimed at the welfare of the entire people, including future generations.

2. Disrespect for the Peasantry and Neglect of Agriculture in the Current German State

In disregard of the biological and economic importance of the farming community, and in contradiction to the vital demand for increased agricultural productivity, the preservation of an economically healthy farming community in today's German state is seriously threatened.
The considerable increase in agricultural production that is possible in itself is being prevented because the necessary resources are lacking as a result of the increasing indebtedness of farmers, and because there is no incentive to increase productivity, as agricultural work is no longer profitable.
The causes of this inadequate remuneration (profitability) of agricultural work are to be found:

1. In the current tax policy, which places a disproportionately heavy burden on agriculture; this is done out of political considerations and because the Jewish global financial power that actually rules in our German parliamentary democracy wants to destroy German agriculture, as this would leave the German people, especially the working class, completely at its mercy.

2. In competition with foreign agriculture, which produces under more favorable conditions and is not sufficiently curbed by an agricultural-hostile tariff policy.

3. Inadmissibly high profits appropriated by the wholesale trade in agricultural products, which intervenes between producer and consumer and is today largely in Jewish hands.

4. In the extortionate prices that farmers have to pay for artificial fertilizers and electricity to corporations that are mostly Jewish.

High taxes can no longer be paid from the income of inadequately remunerated agricultural labor; farmers are forced to go into debt, for which they must pay usurious interest, allowing them to sink deeper and deeper into interest bondage and eventually lose their homes and farms to the predominantly Jewish owners of the loan capital - the German peasantry is being uprooted.

3. In the Future Reich We Seek to Establish, German Land Law Shall Apply and German Land Policy Shall Be Pursued

A radical improvement in the plight of the rural population and a recovery of agriculture cannot be expected as long as the German Reich is effectively ruled by international money barons with the help of the parliamentary-democratic system of government, for they want to destroy the indigenous German people; only in the new German state, which is fundamentally different and which we are striving for, will the rural population and agriculture receive the consideration they deserve as a mainstay of a true German people's state.
In this future Reich, German land law shall apply and German land policy shall be pursued - this gives rise to the following demands:

1. German land owned and defended by the German people must serve as a place of residence and a source of livelihood for the entire population; it must therefore be managed by individual landowners in this spirit.

2. Only German compatriots may be owners of German land.

3. Land legally acquired by German compatriots is recognized as hereditary property; however, this right of ownership is linked to the obligation to use the land for the benefit of the entire people, with the supervision of this obligation being the responsibility of professional courts, which are composed of representatives of all professional groups of the agricultural population and a state representative.

4. German land may not be used for financial speculation or serve as a source of unearned income for the owner; in the future, only those who wish to cultivate the land themselves may acquire it. The state has the right of first refusal on every sale of land; the pledging of land to private lenders is prohibited. Agriculture will receive necessary operating loans on favorable terms through its state-recognized professional cooperatives or through the state.

5. For the use of German soil, the owner must pay a levy to the state based on the size and nature of the property; this land yield tax will eliminate the need for further state taxation of agricultural land and operations.

6. There can be no schematic regulation regarding the size of agricultural enterprises. From a demographic point of view, a large number of viable small and medium-sized farms is particularly important; at the same time, however, large enterprises also fulfill their own necessary functions and are justified in a healthy relationship with medium and small-sized enterprises.

7. The right of inheritance to land and property shall be regulated by a right of primogeniture in such a way as to avoid fragmentation of land ownership and indebtedness of the farm.

8. The state has the right of expropriation, subject to appropriate compensation:

a) of land that is not owned by German citizens,
b) of land that, in the opinion of the competent professional court, no longer serves the needs of the people due to irresponsible mismanagement by its owner,
c) parts of large estates not farmed by the owners themselves for the purpose of settling free farmers,
d) land that is needed for special state purposes (e.g., transportation facilities, national defense) for the benefit of the entire population.

Land acquired unlawfully (within the meaning of German law) shall be expropriated without compensation.

9. The systematic settlement of land that has become available, in accordance with broad demographic considerations, is the responsibility of the state. The land shall be allocated to the settlers as hereditary leases on initial terms that make a viable economy possible. Applicants shall be selected after examination of their civic and professional suitability as settlers, with the sons of farmers who are not entitled to inherit (see section 7) being given special consideration.
Of particular importance is the settlement of the borderlands in the Osten region; however, this cannot be satisfactorily resolved solely by creating farms, but only in conjunction with the development of rural towns with purchasing power and a regrouping of industrial enterprises; this will create the sales opportunities that will make the newly established medium-sized and smaller farms viable.

It is the task of German foreign policy to create food and settlement areas on a large scale for the growing German population.

4. The Peasantry Should Be Uplifted Economically and Culturally

The state has the task of promoting the economic and cultural advancement of the farming community in accordance with its importance for the entire population, thereby eliminating one of the main causes of rural exodus.

1. First, the current dire situation of the rural population must be alleviated through tax relief and other special measures; further indebtedness within agriculture must be stopped by legally reducing the interest rate on borrowed capital to pre-war levels, along with taking the strongest possible action against usury.

2. The state must use its economic policy to ensure that agricultural work becomes profitable again, with domestic agricultural production being protected by customs duties, state regulation of imports, and targeted national education. The pricing of agricultural products must be removed from stock market speculation, and the exploitation of farmers by wholesalers must be prevented; the state must promote the takeover of wholesale trade in agricultural products by agricultural cooperatives.

Professional agricultural organizations have the task of reducing production costs for farmers and increasing production. (Supply of agricultural machinery, fertilizers, seeds, breeding livestock on favorable terms, land improvement, pest control, free agricultural advice, and chemical soil testing, etc.) In fulfilling these tasks, professional organizations must be given extensive support by the state; in particular, state intervention must enforce a significant reduction in the cost of artificial fertilizers and electricity.

3. Professional organizations also have an obligation to firmly integrate the occupational group of agricultural workers into the farming community through socially just employment contracts; the state has the right of supervision and the highest authority of arbitration. Capable agricultural workers must be given the opportunity to become settlers; the necessary improvement in housing conditions and wages for agricultural workers will be achieved more quickly and thoroughly as the situation of agriculture as a whole improves. These improvements in the situation of domestic agricultural workers and the prevention of rural exodus will make it unnecessary to bring in foreign agricultural workers, which will therefore be prohibited in future.

4. The importance of the farming community for the people requires state and professional support for vocational training and the revival of rural culture - (Rural youth centers, agricultural colleges with extensive discounts for talented rural youth without means.)

5. Professional Business Organizations Cannot Provide Substantial Assistance to the Peasantry - Only the German Political Freedom Movement of the NSDAP Can

The current plight of the rural population is part of the plight of the entire German people; it is madness to believe that a single profession can exclude itself from the German community of destiny, and it is a crime to set rural and urban populations against each other, both of which are bound together for better or worse. Economic aid within the framework of the prevailing political system cannot bring about any radical improvement, for the plight of the German people is rooted in its political enslavement, from which only political means can liberate it - the old political parties that have ruled until now and led our people into slavery cannot be leaders on the path to liberation.
Professional organizations have important economic tasks to fulfill in our artificial state, and can already do preparatory work in this sense, but they are unsuitable for the political struggle for liberation, which must also create the conditions for a new economic order; this struggle cannot be waged from the standpoint of a single profession, but must be waged from the standpoint of the entire people.
The struggle for freedom against our oppressors and their bailiffs can only be successfully waged by a political freedom movement which, while fully appreciating the importance of the rural population and agriculture for the people as a whole, unites all German-conscious people of all classes and strata of the German people: this political freedom movement of the German people is the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

- Adolf Hitler